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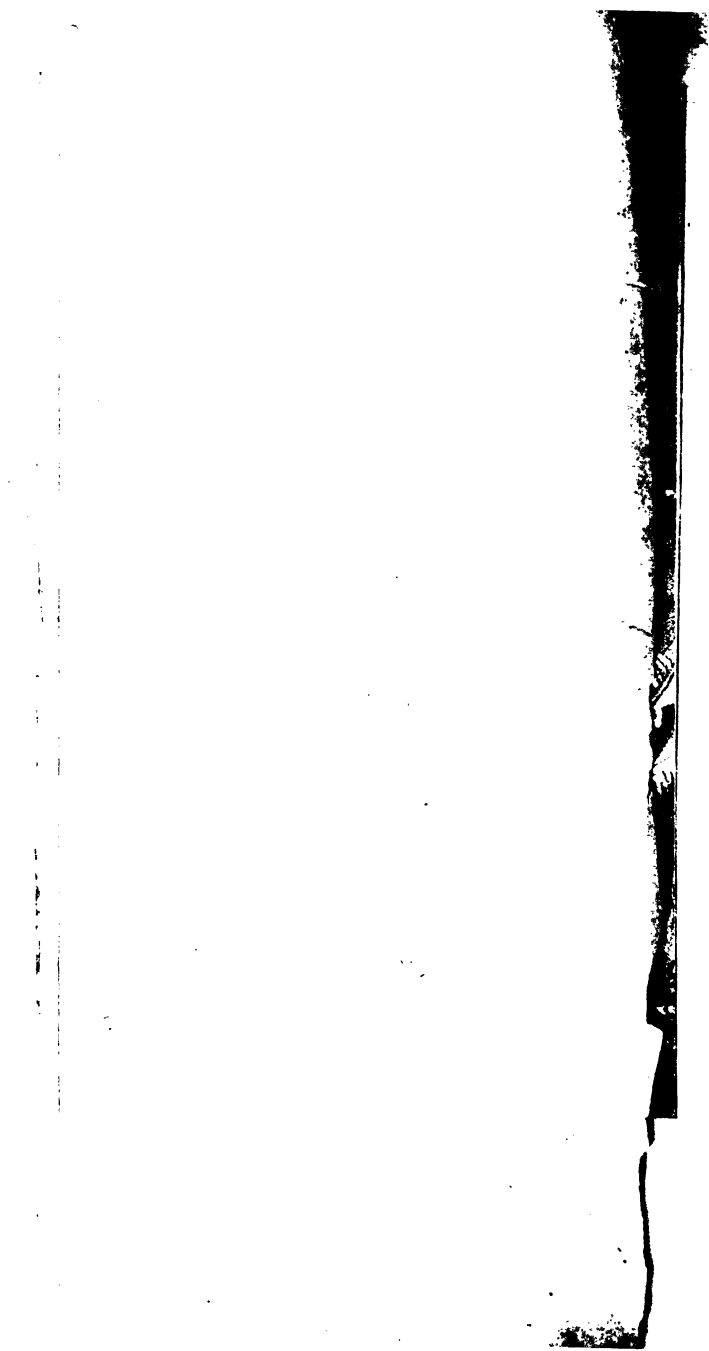


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1871

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Senior, Bernard Martin

JAMAICA,

AS IT WAS, AS IT IS, AND AS IT MAY BE:

COMPRISING

INTERESTING TOPICS

FOR

ABSENT PROPRIETORS, MERCHANTS, &c.

AND

Valuable Hints

TO

PERSONS INTENDING TO EMIGRATE TO THE ISLAND:

ALSO

AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE

OF

THE NEGRO INSURRECTION IN 1831; ✓

WITH

A FAITHFUL DETAIL

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND HABITS OF THE COLONISTS, ✓

AND A DESCRIPTION OF THE

Country, Climate, Productions, &c.

INCLUDING

AN ABRIDGMENT OF THE SLAVE LAW.

BY A RETIRED MILITARY OFFICER.

THE TRUTH, THE WHOLE TRUTH, AND NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH.

LONDON:

T. HURST, 65, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND GRANT AND SON, EDINBURGH.

1835.

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DEDICATION.

TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC.

AMONG the various definitions enumerated of the word "Dedication," we find, by the learned Dr. Johnson, the following, "*a complimentary address at the beginning of a book.*" This sentence evidently implies, that expressions of respect, or adulation, must be directed and applied to the person or persons whom the author has for some very cogent reasons fixed upon as the patron of his work. In compilations of fiction, it seems quite immaterial who, or of what sex, the individual may be, to whom the compliment is paid. In political writings, he must, of course, be sought among men entertaining the same opinions with the writer, and accordant with those he puts forth. In historical productions, the advocacy and support of an influential personage, particularly if holding high office, or of elevated rank, usually adds weight and importance to the volume, and stamps it with a certain degree of authenticity. As, however, in the present work, fiction has been entirely discarded, political opinions as cautiously and as generally avoided as the nature of the details will admit, and historical facts plainly stated, without regard to any party, the author cannot feel himself justified in making

his dedication to any particular individual; besides, from the nature of the subject, the interest, curiosity, feeling, and sympathy of the whole community, are in some measure affected, for it is scarcely possible to doubt, that every one before whom these pages may appear, has been applied to for his or her signatures to petitions for the ABOLITION OF SLAVERY throughout his majesty's dominions.

It is, therefore, to the BRITISH PUBLIC, collectively and individually, that this volume is now dedicated, in the fullest and most perfect assurance, that by the liberal and enlightened portion of society, the facts here brought to light will receive due credence, and the motives for their elucidation be duly appreciated; and to those of less favoured intellect, such information will be afforded, as must tend to place the subject on a more liberal footing to that on which it has hitherto been most unfaithfully represented, either by illiterate, or prejudiced individuals.

Armed with the powerful weapon of veracity, and in the anxious hope of rendering a great benefit, these unpretending pages are issued for the amusement and edification of the British public, and its patronage earnestly solicited by

THE AUTHOR.

London, Jan. 1st. 1835.

P R E F A C E



After a lapse of rather more than two years, since the horrors of the Negro Insurrection in Jamaica were experienced, it will doubtless appear a matter of wonder, why an account of that ever-memorable and truly deplorable event should not ere now have been produced. The reasons, (as far as relates to the present writer) can be readily furnished, and the causes satisfactorily explained. Although a sojourn of nearly twenty years, with but a slight interruption, in the Island of Jamaica, since the year 1815, might be supposed to qualify for the undertaking any resident individual possessing the faculty of observation; yet, it must be remembered, that obstacles frequently arise in the feelings, capacity, leisure and opportunity of some, who might be otherwise equal to the task.

In this particular, notwithstanding the author was personally present during the whole of the rebellion, and stationary in one of the most disturbed districts, uniting his efforts with those of his companions in misfortune, for the speedy termination of excesses,

the idea of furnishing a detail did not occur to him until his return to England, when he found the circumstances so misunderstood, the origin so misrepresented, the facts so mutilated, and the prevalent impressions so erroneous, that he could not refrain from yielding to the suggestion of numerous friends and acquaintances, to put forth a genuine statement of occurrences for public information.

Since the resolve was made, it has been necessary to collect matter on subjects connected with the rebellion and to sift them to positive authenticity. More time has consequently glided on, than would otherwise have been occupied in the compilation; and, it is even now issued with too rough a face, in consequence of the writer's uncontrollable anxiety, that the public should become conversant with the subject, at a period coeval with that when the first results of the "Emancipation Bill" will be made known, by the arrival of packets from the West Indies, subsequent to the coming into operation of that law.

Nevertheless, as it is impossible for a casual reader, or one unacquainted with the history, laws, manners, and customs of the country and its inhabitants, to form correct ideas of the facts unless a slight sketch of these were perused, it is for

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JAMAICA;

AS IT WAS, AS IT IS, AND AS IT MAY BE.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Discovery and Description of Jamaica—Passengers' Outfit—Conveyance—Embarkation—Anecdote—Departure from the Downs—Internal Arrangements completed—Sea-sickness, &c.

ONE of the principal objects of this little work is, to furnish the British public with a faithful account of the origin, progress, termination, and consequences of the insurrection which took place among the negro slave population in the island of Jamaica, immediately after the Christmas of 1831. It must, however, be evident, that a considerable portion of the information intended to be conveyed would be liable to misapprehension, and even misconstruction, were the reader unacquainted with the nature of the climate, habits, manners, and characters of the actors in this unfortunate drama, and the circumstances which operated as stimulants to its commencement.

Perfectly convinced of the absolute necessity that exists as to this point, and anxious to lose no time in apologies for thus acting on these principles, and

under such overwhelming influence, we commence our narrative by remarking, that the ISLAND OF JAMAICA is one of that group called "The Antilles;" and, although by no means the largest, is nevertheless certainly the island of most consequence to Great Britain. Its name is said to have signified, in the language of its original inhabitants, "abounding in springs." Jamaica was discovered by Columbus, in 1494. In 1655 it was taken by the English. It was afterwards settled by three thousand British soldiers, disbanded from the parliamentary army, and these were followed by one thousand five hundred royalists. The centre of it, according to Robertson's Maps, lies in $18^{\circ} 10' 40''$ N. lat. and in $77^{\circ} 12' 30''$ W. long. from London, and is from thence about 4000 miles distant. Jamaica is about one hundred and fifty miles long and forty broad, on an average, and is supposed to contain about 4,080,000 acres of land, (extremely unequal in its surface,) with numerous high mountains. The island is divided into three counties, Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. MIDDLESEX contains nine parishes, viz. St. Catherine, St. John, St. Dorothy, St. Thomas in the Vale, Clarendon Vere, St. Mary, St. Ann, and Manchester. SURRY contains seven parishes, viz. Kingston, Port Royal, St. Andrew, St. David, St. Thomas-in-the-East, Portland, and St. George. CORNWALL contains five parishes, viz. St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, and Trelawny. Although, from the above-mentioned period, it was nominally a British possession, the Spaniards were not prevented from colonizing the island in the year 1509, from which time they remained undisturbed

until the year 1655, when, in Cromwell's time, the English reconquered it, and drove them off. All who now settled there abided under military government, and suffered great hardships and privations until the restoration of Charles the Second. In 1658 the Spaniards attempted to recapture the island, but were repulsed by D'Oyley, the British commander. At the death of Cromwell, Charles the Second greatly encouraged emigration to Jamaica; and numerous families availing themselves of the advantages held out, it speedily became a thriving colony. The importation of slaves from Africa was made *legal*, and even *compulsory on the planters*, who were obliged to import slaves according to the extent of their possessions. Although the Spaniards were extremely jealous of the British, yet, by the treaty of Madrid, in June, 1670, every island and colony in the West Indies or America then under dominion of Great Britain, was guaranteed to the actual possessor, and no attempt to reconquer them was made by the Spaniards.

In 1678 a most arbitrary and impolitic system of legislation was adopted by the English Government in Jamaica, by an impost of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on its gross produce, as had been granted by Barbadoes; but it was resisted by the inhabitants of Jamaica, which drew upon them the wrath of the mother country, and the island was deprived of its constitutional franchises. Still the resistance continued. However, at length the parent state gave up the impost required, and restored the old privileges of the assembly, but ungenerously refused to confirm any laws framed by such assembly for the internal government. This unnatural warfare continued

for the space of fifty years, and greatly retarded the progress of the island towards improvement. Fortunately, in 1728, under the reign of George II. a compromise was effected:—the assembly agreeing to furnish to the crown a perpetual revenue of £8000 a year, on condition that the quit-rents should be included in the above amount; that their laws should receive the royal assent; and that all the British laws and statutes at that time in force, should remain the same in Jamaica *then and for ever*—thus was the political institution of Jamaica finally completed.

The CLIMATE is extremely hot, particularly in the low lands, where the thermometer is sometimes much above 90°. In the high mountains, the temperature is considerably cooler, the glass varying from 55° to about 72°. Many parts are prodigiously fertile; but vast tracts, denominated “savannas,” are almost barren. There are also immense portions of swampy land, called “morass,” which are quite useless for cultivation, and cannot be rendered productive by draining, in consequence of the level being in most cases below that of the sea.

Jamaica abounds in streams and rivers, more than one hundred having been enumerated throughout the island, of different sizes. Black River, in St. Elizabeth, is considered the largest, deepest, and least rapid; but it is not navigable for any thing beyond the large boats, that bring down the produce from the inland estates. Some medicinal springs are also found in various parts; the most celebrated is in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, where a bath has been erected, with other conveniences, which is often resorted to by persons suffering debility and

other disorders. At Black River, in St. Elizabeth, is another medicinal spring, much resembling one of the wells at Cheltenham, in the properties of the water, and found to be very efficacious in some diseases incidental to the climate. The corn, fruits, and grapes, will be noticed in their proper places. The three counties before specified, as comprising twenty-one parishes, contain six principal towns and twenty-seven villages. Each parish is governed by a chief magistrate, a *custos rotulorum*, and a bench of justices; the latter are recommended by the custos and appointed by the governor, and hold sessions of the peace, and courts of common pleas: a single justice, however, can decide on actions under forty shillings. Each parish has one church at least, with a rector and curate, but many have more; independent of which several chapels have latterly been erected, and curates attached to them. The vestries consist of the custos, two or more of the local magistrates, ten vestrymen, and the rector; but a less number will constitute a vestry, and can perform all the functions. The vestrymen are elected annually by the freeholders; and they appoint all the parochial officers at their first meeting. The funds necessary for all purposes are raised by taxes on the property of the inhabitants, and by colonial duties on articles imported. The commissioners of public accounts appoint a collecting constable for each parish; although sometimes one individual is permitted to hold the office in two parishes. All commissioned officers and privates of His Majesty's forces receive island pay, and allowances for themselves, their wives, and children. Having now most briefly related all that is absolutely required respecting the island itself,

and our first settlement thereon, the author has not only to solicit a moderate share of the reader's indulgence, while he endeavours, gradually and progressively, to furnish the remaining necessary information, but to entreat an entire eradication and total dismissal of any untoward bias that may (imperceptibly, perhaps, in many instances) have been engendered, in consequence of the numerous and bitter discussions that have arisen, and apparently become fashionable, ever since the terms "*Slavery* and *Emancipation*" were allowed so unwarrantably to gain possession of our placarded walls, and to force themselves, misinterpreted and misunderstood, into every class of society, as a favorite topic of conversation. Having himself resided in the island of Jamaica, and been actively employed in the management of extensive possessions belonging to himself and family, as well as to other individuals, through a wearisome space of nearly twenty years, with but a temporary respite, and all that time a close observer of every thing relating to the country, climate, colonists, and productions, and besides having obtained the assistance (in the performance of his undertaking, whenever it was needed,) of many friends at present there resident, and well qualified to supply information the most authentic, he flatters himself there is reason to anticipate, that the incidents of his narrative will not prove tiresome or insipid, though void of flowery language and scenes of fiction.

These things premised, it is not improbable that knowledge of every description relating to the island will be eagerly sought for by the curious, from a publication bearing the comprehensive title attached to these sheets; and it is therefore proposed to adopt

the only mode of accomplishing the end, by taking the reader as one who has never visited a tropical climate, and furnishing to him all the intelligence he can possibly require in his progress through the book, remarking, as we proceed, the various changes that have occurred during the last eighteen or twenty years. With this view, the first points necessary to be considered are, the outfit of a male individual about to visit the island, and meditating a sojourn there in any capacity whatever; his best mode of conveyance; the most eligible period of the year for his departure; and other minor arrangements, which of course must vary according to circumstances.

To commence, then, with "THE OUTFIT."—The clothing most suitable to tropical climates may be thus briefly enumerated:—trousers for dress, to be of white jean, or fine drill; for riding, or daily exercise, Russia duck, or stout drill, coloured, white, or striped; waistcoats, such as are usually worn in the hottest summer months here, and all single breasted, those of cloth or kerseymere are frequently found too hot, and are consequently useless; two coats, of the lightest (in texture) broad cloth, with no velvet collars, or at the cuff, lining—all this is insupportable; a few jean or merino riding jackets; two light straw hats, and one of black beaver; two pair of slight but easy boots, and some good walking shoes; with a plentiful supply of linen shirts; coloured and white cravats, but no stocks, as they are considerably too hot; some cotton and a few pair of silk stockings; light gloves, full large, so as not to tear when pulled from a hand covered with profuse perspiration, and thus he is quite equipped: a saddle and bridle, common servant's saddle and bridle,

mail pillion and portmanteau, with the usual straps, are perfect indispensables. For females, the lightest summer dresses, but principally white, and the coloured ones ought to be such as require washing but seldom, as the exposure to a tropical sun, by the negro washer-women, will ruin the prettiest pattern in a single operation; bonnets of Leghorn, chip, Dunstable, &c., but in every case completely to shelter the face, or they are perfectly useless; boots and shoes of jean or prunella, as leather is demolished by the insects. Silk rots in a very short time, after one or two wearings. The lady will not forget her side-saddle and bridle; and a riding habit of the finest cloth, or merino. So much for dress and its accompaniments.

We now proceed to the mode of CONVEYANCE.—Although fine vessels of all denominations depart from London, Liverpool, Bristol, Greenock, &c., the former port is considered preferable, for various reasons; but the eligibility of place must depend entirely on the situation and circumstances of the traveller himself. West Indiamen, however, from every port, are generally from 200 to 500 tons burthen, and always fitted up for the accommodation of passengers, as regards the cabin, &c. The passage-money varies from £25. to £50. for cabin passengers, according to the accommodation and mode of living; but, should a *family* be going out, an agreement may be made on pretty moderate terms. Of course, there is no expense for luggage; and, indeed, the whole furniture of a passenger is seldom charged for, as the outward-bound vessels are never half-loaded, and the owners have no objection to occupy the vacancy in this way, where they also obtain passengers;

although the latter is usually the captain's perquisite, allowing a trifling proportion to the owners. The amount of a steerage passenger is about one half (or less, if the individual provides his own victuals.) These payments are generally made on engaging the passage; but very frequently not until arriving at the destination. It is customary for passengers to embark after the vessel draws out of the West India Dock, although some who are timid, availing themselves of the day previous to her leaving her station, embark in the docks; these folks, however, must be content to go to bed in the dark, as no lights are allowed after a certain early hour.

Some, again, defer joining the vessel until she reaches the Downs, or even Portsmouth, if touching there, should she not (wind permitting) meditate going right out. For those who are not averse to land travelling, certainly the latter is preferable, as the passage from the docks to the Downs is frequently uncertain, and always tedious, to say nothing of the bustle and confusion incidental to this stage of the voyage, and the necessity of putting up with innumerable unlooked-for inconveniences and extraordinary occurrences. The different classes of visitors, with their remarks, are a complete antidote to ennui. It is almost impossible for an *old stager* to control his risible muscles on hearing the naturally anxious questions which are constantly put to the captain, mate, and steward, by such as are making their first voyage; and the apparently satisfactory answers given, which are diametrically opposite to what would have been made to one conversant with the subject. I cannot here refrain from recording an instance much in point, among many others I have

witnessed. While lying in the Downs, with the wind right against us, anxiously waiting for a change, in order that we might commence our voyage outwards, a fine homeward-bound Indiaman passed our vessel. This being a beautiful sight, all the passengers were called on deck to see her; and, after expressing much gratification, returned to the cabin. One of the ladies, more loquacious and inquisitive than the rest, thus addressed the captain, with whom I happened, at this time, to be conversing about the apparently settled state of the wind against us:—"Oh! captain, how charmingly that ship is sailing—surely the wind must be fair!" "Certainly, madam, it is, *she could not have it better!*" "Oh! I'm so glad, for you said you'd be off so soon as it was fair; but then the *tide*, when will that be in our favour?" "Not until five o'clock to-morrow morning." Off went the delighted novice, carrying the unexpected glorious intelligence to her fellow-passengers, that the vessel would sail to-morrow morning at five o'clock. The captain and I had scarcely time to repress our laughter, when he was besieged by the whole of the passengers, who were anxious for a corroboration of the lady's statement, when, on the conversation being repeated verbatim, they became sensible that the wind, *which could not have been better for the Indiaman, could not have been worse for us.*

If the channel pilot has not joined the ship previous to her arrival in the Downs, he now makes his appearance, and you may be certain of starting as soon as the wind becomes fair and steady: no comfort, however, must be looked for until *his* departure, when you may deem yourselves fairly

gone. All shore friends, not previously off, quit the vessel with him; and all now in the ship are to be companions for the voyage. Every body speedily commences in good earnest to settle himself, arranging the berth, putting out the sea-garments, searching for entertaining books, the journal to be kept, and other amusements. The meal hours are fixed and made known, and as passengers first seat themselves at table, so they generally continue at all meals during the voyage. The greatest kindness and attention is invariably shewn to passengers; but, particularly, of course, to ladies and children, by captain, mate, steward, &c. There is often much variable wind and unpleasant weather in the channel, consequently this first progress frequently creates an unfavourable presage of that which is to come; but, when conquered, a very few days produce the mild and delightful temperature of Madeira; after which, if the season is auspicious, little inconvenience is to be anticipated. Most passengers are tormented with that dreadful plague, called "*sea-sickness*," which, although extremely annoying, never proves fatal: in that helpless predicament, the subject is liable to jest; but is, from the truly distressing sufferings endured, rather an object of commiseration than ridicule. So over-pouring is this malady to the feelings, and such an utter disregard to vitality does it engender, that the afflicted person would oftentimes, at the moment, prefer total extinction:—indeed, a friend once assured me that he hoped, should he ever be in danger of shipwreck, he might be enduring sea-sickness at the time, in order that he might even welcome his fate!

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CHAPTER II.

The most eligible Period for Sailing—Amusements on Board —The Voyage — Making the Islands — A Black Pilot — Port Royal — Kingston — Spanish Town — Government, or King's House — Public Offices — Departure from Port Royal, and sail along the South Side—Scenery — The Vessel anchors in Black River Harbour.

PERHAPS it ought ere this to have been stated, that the months of October or November are considered the most desirable period to leave England for the West Indies; not only on account of the greater probability that exists of a fair and speedy passage, but also because the European then arrives previous to, or just about, Christmas, thereby encountering the tropical heat in its most temperate season. It may not be amiss to observe, that worn-out, or cast off suits, and all inferior articles of clothing, are most applicable to a sojourn on ship-board; as even in the cleanest and best conducted vessels, it is quite impossible to prevent good clothes from being in a very short time entirely ruined. Jackets and caps are also preferable to coats and hats, the jacket being less cumbersome, and the cap less liable to be carried overboard by a loose rope. Books, a chess or backgammon-board, cards, and musical instruments, are very welcome accompaniments to the voyage: for where sea and sky are all the eye has to rest upon outside, for weeks together, any little variety is charming, and artificial pleasures must be resorted to. Sometimes a few flying-fish, or dolphin, or a shoal of porpoises, will draw the whole of the cabin passengers on deck, the

moment the communication is made; but the anxiety created by the report of a *shark* being alongside, or a *strange sail in sight*, is almost indescribable. If the winds are favourable, fine, dry and pleasant, weather may be expected in from ten days to a fortnight; after which period delightful sailing in "*the trades*" will be experienced. It were needless to expatiate on the new feelings now created, arising from the contrast between the late boisterous, dreary, cold, and comfortless weather, and the mild, genial temperature of the atmosphere; added to this change, is also the quietness and rapidity with which the vessel glides along. It is by no means uncommon for such weather to last until the vessel approaches the islands; when sudden squalls of wind and rain, with much thunder and lightning, may be expected, and are generally met with. The stranger is, however, amply compensated for his dread of these terrific scenes and sounds, by a view of the islands of Monserrat, Guadaleupe, St. Domingo, Cuba, &c., tolerably close to all of which he will necessarily pass. But when the east end of the Island of Jamaica is made, he will be perfectly enraptured, on drawing nearer and nearer to the shore, to behold the beautifully cultivated estates, the happy but grotesque groups of negro labourers, and the magnificent scenery which every where meets the view, along the whole length of coast he has to pass on his way to the first port, which, for various reasons, we will consider to be Kingston, as, by this arrangement, he must survey more objects worthy of notice than he could possibly do by entering any of the inferior harbours. As the reader's scene of action, so far as relates to the Rebellion,

lies principally between the maritime towns of Black River and Montego Bay, we will presume the vessel is ultimately bound to the former port, on the south side of the island; but previously to touch at Kingston, the capital. Soon after Morant Point appears, a boat heaves in sight, hails and furnishes a pilot, who is generally a black man.

Here the astonishment of those who never before beheld a sable visage is at its height. His uncouth appearance and apparel, combined with his outlandish lingo and quaint remarks, create much amusement. From him the captain learns all the news, and retails it to his passengers; hours now fly swiftly, and the scenery ever varying as the vessel proceeds, appears more like enchantment than reality, as from the open sea, our bark now softly glides into the spacious harbour of Port Royal; she passes the land on the right side so closely, that, according to the sea-term, "*you may chuck a biscuit ashore.*" This spot is truly picturesque, and well worthy of a much more able description than can now be given of it. Although on a sandy beach, all above the water-mark is lovely verdure.

The conspicuously tropical, and consequently remarkable appearance of the majestic cocoa-nut trees that skirt the shore in rows, the light, cool and capacious barracks for the military force at Port Royal, the magnificent hospital erected for the invalids of the navy, the stupendous height of the surrounding (but distant) mountains, the air of contentment, vivacity, and cleanliness that characterize the inhabitants of all denominations, the cordiality and heartiness with which an arrival from England, (though of so frequent occurrence) seems to be

welcomed, and the unanticipated busy scene which the harbour affords, are quite sufficient to drive away any evil impressions that former misrepresentation may have generated in the bosom of a stranger. At the moment the ship is passing nearest to the shore, she is hailed by an artilleryman from the military post, with a huge trumpet, who, having received the information he required, withdraws to report his news, and, in a few moments more, the vessel is safely at anchor, among men-of-war as well as merchantmen. The next tide carries her up to Kingston, a distance of about eight miles, during which movement, Fort Augusta, The Apostles' Battery, The Admiral's Penn, The Pallisades, and other objects worthy of notice, are pointed out to the passenger. If any of the cargo is destined for Kingston, no time is lost in discharging it; and probably some is also taken in for the port to which the vessel is about to proceed. *Kingston* is an extensive city, built principally of wood; the houses have piazzas, fitted up all round with Venetian blinds, or, as they are there termed, *jalousies* (pronounced "jelassee," by which they are both lighted and ventilated. The streets incline gradually to the harbour, being intersected at right angles by some cross ones, and there is a fine parade for the military, at one side of which stands "*the barracks*."

Here are excellent stores for all descriptions of goods; and, at particular periods, many articles are to be procured cheaper than imported. A great trade is carried on with the Spaniards and Americans. The wharfs, during crop time, are crowded with puncheons of rum, hogsheads of sugar, tierces of coffee and ginger, bales of cotton, bags of pimento, logs

of mahogany and cedar, and immense piles of log-wood, fustic, lignum-vitæ, and ebony black and green, besides produce of minor import, such as arrow-root, castor oil, tobacco, India corn, ground, provisions, &c. &c. Also various packages from England and America, comprising hogsheads of coal, barrels of herrings, salt beef, pork, and butter; casks of negro clothing, and other supplies for different purposes; vehicles, machinery, barrels of flour, plank, boards, timber, staves, &c. The public offices are, in some instances, elegant; and many of the residences belonging to merchants, professional men, &c., are splendid in the extreme.

Besides the established church, and Scotch kirk, there are various other places of worship, for almost every sect; and members of the Jewish persuasion are unusually numerous in Kingston. Notwithstanding, however, that this great city may truly be denominated the London of Jamaica, in every other respect, it is not the seat of government. This honour has been awarded to St. Jago de la Vega, commonly called "*Spanish Town*," an inland place, about thirteen miles distant; and as the grand courts are held there, of which we shall have occasion hereafter to speak pretty frequently, it may not be amiss to furnish a transient account. The road from Kingston to Spanish town is almost entirely upon a dead level, consequently the town lies low, and, being on a sandy soil, is insupportably hot. The government residence, (termed "*the king's house*,") is a magnificent building, occupying one whole side of a large quadrangle. Standing with your back to this noble mansion, on the left of the square is the secretary's office, where all conveyances and other

deeds (to be legal) must be recorded, and a variety of other public edifices. Here, also, meets the eye, a superb statue of Admiral Lord Rodney, who obtained a complete victory over the French fleet, commanded by Count de Grasse, which was said to be destined for the capture of Jamaica. This glorious event took place on the 12th of April, 1782. The right side is occupied by a handsome pile, of recent erection, and appropriated to government purposes; while the front, opposite to the king's house, comprises the court-house, grand and petty jury, and a variety of other rooms up stairs, and innumerable public offices fill up the lower department. In this upper range, there are elegant apartments allotted to the house of assembly; and here, also, are held all the balls, and other public entertainments. There are many splendid edifices in the town and neighbourhood, possessed, for the most part, by gentlemen of the legal or medical professions, and in some cases by government officers or country proprietors. This town is, nevertheless, by no means a desirable residence, as it is almost impossible for one who has not endured the temperature, to conceive its usual intensity of heat. The markets are not so well supplied as Kingston, but it is always possible to procure *something*, notwithstanding meat will not keep twenty-four hours; and such is the hospitality throughout the island, that it is not easy for a stranger to know otherwise than that the greatest abundance prevails; indeed, profusion is frequently displayed. It is, however, a complete *legal* atmosphere, as, in general, three out of four individuals to whom you may be introduced, are members of that profession,

in some branch or other. Even the very negro servants become familiar with the law phrases, and sometimes respond to your inquiries, with perfect office terms, and in true official language, imitating, at the same time, the air, tone, or gesture of a chief justice, assistant judge, or barrister.

Spanish Town abounds in lodging-houses of every description, from the highest to the lowest; and by furnishing accommodation to the great influx of jurymen, suitors, witnesses and other visitors, who must attend the three grand courts held in February, June, and October, a great deal of money is made by the proprietors, who are usually women of colour. Each lodging-house is a species of hotel, and any thing may be procured that the town affords; many of the proprietors of them even take out licences to retail liquors.

After this temporary digression, we must resume the former subject, and consider ourselves as having been rolled along the level road back to Kingston, in our friend's gig, or some hired vehicle, where we find the captain has discharged whatever portion of his cargo was consigned to Kingston, and already received such as may have been entrusted to him for his next port; having, besides, not only made his clearance at the custom-house, but actually dropped down to Port Royal. No difficulty or delay now arrises, and with the next tide, the vessel is seen (wind permitting) silently stealing out of Port Royal Harbour, and is very soon gently gliding down the south side of the island, having passed the ordeal of Portland Race, where the conflux of waters invariably causes a troubled sea for a few miles. The admirer of nature's work, has now no

leisure for ought else than to feast his eyes in joyous gaze on her ~~vast~~ variety of beauties. The diversity of scenery along this shore will furnish such an individual with ample recompence for any inconveniences he may have endured during the early or previous portion of his voyage. At one moment his astonished senses become overwhelmed by the majestic boldness of a stupendous bluff, apparently inaccessible, and calculated merely to form a residence for the innumerable aquatic birds that seem playfully to welcome the vessel's near approach; at another, the beholder may satiate his visual organs on a magnificent low land scene, where the golden cane harvest yields to the sharp muschet, (an instrument resembling a sabre, but more straight,) dexterously handled by a large gang of the sable labourers, whose merry native carol seems to bid defiance to care or sorrow. In the adjoining pasture (field) he probably descries an herd of sleek handsome steers, (oxen,) in fine condition for the estate's work, grazing up to the middle in luxuriant Guinea-grass, the verdant hue of which forms a most satisfactory and pleasing contrast with the deep green of the fall plant, now in exuberant growth, and the rich yellow of the ripe maize, (India corn) or the matured sugar cane.

In pleasing irregularity appear the magnificent works of different sugar estates, and the innumerable subordinate appendages. Nor can we now overlook the hospitable mansions of the various proprietors, which from the general open but unostentatious style of building adopted, seem to bid the traveller welcome ere he approaches the portal. Our reader will ere this have perceived, that with a view to

place him in the best possible position for speedily arriving at the particular district where the occurrences took place, (of which he will presently peruse an account,) he is now being transported, with all dispatch, to the harbour of Black River, in the parish of St. Elizabeth; between which town and Montego Bay, in St. James's, the principal acts of insubordination arose, that are here recorded. The bays, ports, and roadsteads of Salt River, Old Harbour, Alligator Pond, Great and Little Pedro, being passed, it is very probable the vessel may anchor in the harbour of Black River, ere sun set; when boats push off from the shore, and rarely has a passenger to fix his abode in a lodging-house, such is the general hospitality of the country. There are, however, good accommodation for strangers; and they will experience every facility in procuring conveyances to whatever property or parish they may be destined.

CHAPTER III.

*Town of Black River — Adjacent Country — Hospitality—
Mode of Living—Anecdote— Number of Domestics re-
quired — Horses, Mules, and Carriages — The Trunk
Fleet—Mode of Travelling—Negligence of Negro Boys.*

THE town of Black River is (like all others in Jamaica) almost entirely built of wood; the houses being in general two stories high, having shops, called "*stores*," and piazzas below, and the dwelling house above. To a stranger, the roofs appear uncommonly neat, being covered with cedar, bullet tree, or broad leaf shingles, all of which soon assume a blueish cast, from the operation of the sun and heavy rains; thereby resembling the finest slates. For their jalousies and Venetian blinds, green is invariably adopted, which, contrasted with the yellow stone-colour the exterior of the house represents, has a most pleasing effect, giving a clean and lively appearance to the buildings, very striking to a new comer. Some, however, display great want of taste, in substituting red for stone-colour, because the expence is less, but it soon becomes dingy and sombre.

The harbour is too extensive and open to be denominated perfectly safe, and the channels from the sea to the spot where the merchant-vessels ride, for discharging and loading, are rather narrow, but they are well known and the pilots good. It abounds with excellent fish, and at every season of the year, a macaroni (equal to about an English shilling) will purchase a fine dish, quite sufficient for a large family. The country in the immediate

vicinity of the bay is low, and principally occupied by that species of property denominated "*a penn*," answering exactly to our breeding farm in England, on which are raised fine horses, mules, steers (oxen) and other horned cattle, sheep, and pigs. A large portion, however, of the land still remains out of cultivation, but produces annually and spontaneously large quantities of logwood, *lignum-vitæ* and other hard woods. There is also much morass land (fens or swamps) which is quite useless, from the impracticability of draining it; the level being below that of the sea. Principally it is through this kind of country that the river runs, from which the town derives its name, and than which no greater blessing could have been bestowed, as it is navigable for immense boats, called "*bugays*," for many miles up. By this means, and in these boats, the whole of the sugar, rum, and other produce, is conveyed from the estates in the interior down to the wharfs and shipping, with safety and expedition.

On entering Black River Harbour, the inland prospect to the left is bounded by a line of lofty hills, beautifully wooded, and pleasingly studded with residences. In front, the land being extremely level, the more elevated mountains of the interior bursting on the view, present a magnificent description of scenery. On the right, nothing can be more imposing or splendid, than the stupendous Santa-Cruz mountains, now seen in cultivated grandeur, the principal summit of which can boast of being nearly two-thousand feet above the level of the sea.

The average passage to Jamaica being about six weeks, it seldom occurs that strangers do not form in that time a sufficient acquaintance with some fellow-passenger, to cause his introduction to one of the classes of society. If in the genteel rank, he will find the following remarks correct. Whatever may here have been recorded of the natural tendency to extravagance, which formerly predominated in the West India character, all must allow, that "*bad times and untoward events*" have entirely robbed him of any claim to that peculiar propensity. No doubt, it must be deemed a *melioration*, for he still retains the more valuable qualifications of, and inclination to, hospitality and kindness. An introduction to one respectable family in a parish, may truly be considered a passport to the whole, provided the visitor's conduct and reputation go hand in hand with the prescribed rules of propriety and decorum. If otherwise, he has no one to blame but himself, if he retrogrades from the place he might have held.

The mode of living, too, is quite congenial with the stranger's feelings, whatever may have been his motive for making the voyage. All restraint and cold formality is exploded. Horses, vehicles, and servants are at his disposal. Few, very few, actually reside in the towns; for almost every merchant, medical, legal, or other practitioner, has what he calls his "*penn*," which is a comfortable, and often a handsome establishment, (particularly near Kingston and Spanish Town,) a short distance out of town. In the country, of course, we find the habitations of *proprietors* (sometimes denominated *planters*) of estates, *penns*, and plantations. The

wealthier classes, near the large towns, entertain sumptuously; but as this is not the general mode of living, let the more moderate country gentlemen, whatever may be his occupation, demonstrate the customary movements of the Jamaica proprietor. It is seldom that most of the family do not mount their horses very soon after daylight, and take that recreative exercise till between seven and eight. Sometimes, during the subsequent hour, the family and guests assemble to morning prayer; after which comes the breakfast, at about nine, and even in a moderate family *that* meal would astonish a stranger. The lady and her daughter, or some friend, preside over the tea, coffee, and chocolate. The table is covered with dishes, containing delicious mealy yams, and probably some mashed with milk and butter, put up in shapes. Cocoa, roasted and boiled, roast plantains, and sometimes potatoes. Hot rolls, toast, cassade cakes, and sweet potatoe. All this is called "*bread kind*." A steak, chop, or stew, generally finds its place before the host, while in the centre a cold ham or tongue takes its station. The intermediate spaces are occupied by small neat dishes of deviled fowl or duck, boiled salt herring, broiled salmon, or some such dainty dish. This repast concluded, at which the amusements and occupations of the day have been decided, each repairs to the avocation he has chosen. A ride through the estate, penn, or plantation, a drive into town, a visit to some neighbouring friend, who is to be seduced to join the party at dinner, a shooting or an angling excursion, generally occupies the male division, in whole, or in part, for the morning. Needlework, reading, music, drawing the children,

the negro school, or perhaps attended by one or more of the gentlemen, a morning visit, without formality, to an acquaintance in the vicinity, delightfully wiles away the forenoon of some of the party, while others are engaged in domestic concerns. At one o'clock, second breakfast is announced. Here is an elegant display of all the country fruits in season: pines, melons, mangoes, bananas, oranges, shad-docks, Avogada pears, &c., are tastefully mingled with neat dishes, prettily garnished, of cold chicken, sliced ham, a tongue, pickled salmon, cray-fish, &c., with a suitable display of bread kind, marmalade, and preserves.

After this, each returns to his or her previous occupation, until three or four o'clock, when it is customary to retire to dress for dinner. The reader should here be apprised, that as no carpets are used in the West Indies, all the floors are beautifully polished, by occasional rubbings with woollen cloths, saturated with wax and moistened with Seville orange juice. At this time the little tribe of black girls make their *entrée* and commence operations, the dust having been previously swept out by an elder domestic. A dressing bell generally rings one hour previous to dinner, and another at the moment the meats are being dished. When the company again assemble, all is bright and clean, for no mahogany, with a French polish, can assume a finer face than the bullet-tree and blood-wood floors exhibit after this operation; indeed, they are sometimes so slippery, as to require the utmost caution from any one unaccustomed to them.

Shortly after the ringing of the second bell, a footman announces the dinner. It will probably

appear extraordinary to Europeans, that, in so torrid a climate, the hottest and most piquant soups are an invariable appendage to a Jamaica dinner; but it is the case, and many of the inhabitants would not conceive they had dined, if this dish were wanting. Fish also is seldom absent. The rest of the meal will accord with a handsome one in this our cool country; but the pastry and dessert are in profusion at some tables. It is seldom that port or sherry is drank, as they are considered too heavy. The common wines are Madeira, hock, and claret. Little malt liquor is used, except, perhaps, a small glass with cheese; but the dram-custom, before the "*sweets*," still holds sovereign sway.

Hard drinking is now most uncommon. Gentlemen sit a moderate time after dinner, then join the ladies at coffee, and fill up the evening with music, conversation, &c., and not unfrequently a little dance, if the party be sufficiently numerous. About ten o'clock a bell rings, the domestics attend, and the party unite in family worship. The host officiates, and a hymn is usually sung. The ladies now retire, and the male party generally drink a tumbler of very weak spirits and water at the sideboard, which done, they also retreat quietly to a comfortable bed, well brushed out, and fenced from the musquitos by a muslin net, invariably attached to every bed for that purpose.

An anecdote occurs relative to the "*musquito net*" now quite appropriate: two gentlemen from England, who had landed rather late from the vessel on the first evening of their arrival, and had met with a hearty welcome and good cheer from the friend at whose house they were to spend the night, were, in

due course, shown at the usual time into their bedrooms, where every thing was handsomely arranged, and nothing wanting. The musquito nettings were, of course, closely tucked in to keep out the insects; but the host had forgotten to acquaint his guests with the mode of entry. Being in separate rooms, each puzzled his brain to find out an opening in the curtains, but to no effect. Fortunately, there was a door of communication between the two rooms, which being opened by one, the other found his companion in an equal dilemma with himself. At length the junior stranger, by accident, adopted the right and only mode, by pulling out a part of the net from under the mattress, just enough to admit his body, when he crept into bed, tucked it in again, and heartily laughed at his astonished brother in distress, who could not be prevailed upon to believe that so uncouth a method of getting into bed, could be the true and genteel one, although compelled to adopt it, until assured of the fact by his host on the following morning.

Such as just now described, was, till very lately, a sketch of the Jamaica proprietor in his own house; but, it must be observed, he never allowed visitors to interfere with his plantation duties. Besides inspecting the field labourers, at their various employments, and the tradesmen (carpenters, masons, &c.) at their several departments, he never failed to make frequent visits to the hospital, and to those of his people who were indisposed at their own houses, carefully administering medicines, or nourishment, as required.

Ere we leave this subject, it may not be amiss to enumerate the number of domestics absolutely

required for a moderate sized respectable family. Suppose it, then, to consist of the man and wife, two daughters and a son, between the ages of twelve and twenty, besides two grand-children, between the ages of two and four. For this family, there must be at least a waiting man and two boys, two cooks, two house-women, three or four little girls, a pantry-woman, at the very least two washer-women, and probably three; a man and boy to milk the cows and attend the stable, &c.; a woman and girl for the fowl-house; a man and boy for the garden; a man to take charge of, and a boy to look after, the sheep; besides the services of what is called the "*pickering gang*," twice or three times a day, to fetch from the ruinate land bundles of wild vine, called "*hogslip*," which is, in fact, a species of convolvulus, and is principally the food on which a drove of hogs is supported. All this is entirely independent of the labour of the field-gangs, who are employed for many days in the year preparing ground for, and planting, corn, yams, cocoas, plantains, and other ground provisions for house use.

The reader will, no doubt, consider this an enormous establishment for a family in the middle sphere of life; but he will recollect, that a West India family must live within themselves. There are no shops, where articles can be purchased at any time, near his residence; and probably many are domiciled from twenty to thirty miles from any town whatsoever. He has also very often to send nearly that distance for his letters; and also for his weekly supply of beef; besides, he has not, *by law*, the services of any negro on *Saturday* or *Sunday*, consequently he is compelled to make them *change*

with each other, one party taking their Saturday and Sunday, and the other receiving two days during the ensuing week, in payment for the two they remained in their master's house. These interruptions, added to the time they take in returning to their work, the day after the payment has been made, deprives the master of a considerable proportion of his domestic services.

Independent of these regular servants already specified, there are invariably a few little pensioners about every house, sons or daughters of a steady waiting man, or of a well behaved cook or house-woman, who get themselves insinuated by some means or other, and are seen employed in sweeping out the fowl-yard, helping the cook, cleaning the knives and forks, or drawing the cart and horse of "*young massa*," or "*little missas*." Such juvenile archins very soon evince in their countenances the change in their mode of living; they become fat, sleek, and shiny, always appearing in good humour, and frequently dancing, in a most grotesque manner, for the amusement of the youthful part of the family.

We must not omit to mention that every young lady has her own private waiting maid, solely employed by herself. They are, generally, good sempstresses, and clever in their particular departments. Of all these servants, however, it must be remarked, that probably not more than two or three are entirely fed by the owner; although, from the heat of the climate, few of the dishes left at dinner can remain for the morrow. There is always abundance to be distributed, and this is performed by either the head waiting-man, or the most trustworthy woman in the kitchen. As every

one is thus fully aware of his or her particular department, in a house well managed, it prevents the slightest inconvenience from occurring to the heads, however unexpectedly a party of visitors may arrive. The kindness with which they are met, can only be equalled by the friendly entertainment they receive: themselves, their servants, and quadrupeds, invariably find a cordial welcome and substantial fare.

For the above family, there must be both a phaeton and a gig, which are always of the lightest description. At any rate, four good draft-horses, besides one riding horse, with trappings complete, for every member of the family; a mule for each servant boy, and two or three spare ones to carry sumpter-saddles for the conveyance of luggage, whenever the family makes an excursion from home. On such occasions, a number of women are seen moving along the road, smartly dressed, each carrying on her head a large band box, or light trunk, and also something of little weight in the hand. These are articles that would be injured by being strapped on the sumpter-saddle, and commonly have a canvas covering by way of a guard from rain. As this party of carriers seldom separate on the journey, it is not inaptly termed "*the trunk fleet*." Having said that every member of a family must have his or her own riding horse, it becomes expedient to explain that there is no parish in Jamaica devoid of mountains, on the sides, or even summits of which are generally built the proprietor's residence, principally for the sake of the cool climate, but also in consequence of the expansive view hereby gained.

It then becomes obvious, should there be much extent of lowland between the dwelling of a gentleman residing in one mountain, and that of his friend on another, the lowland travelling on horseback would be too fatiguing for the females; they therefore ride down their own hill, where a servant waits below with a vehicle to drive them to the foot of the other. A boy follows the carriage with their nags, which they mount to ascend the hill where their friend's house is situated.

"*The trunk fleet*" is supposed always to start ere daylight, as before breakfast is invariably the time for travelling, but is generally seen winding up the hill just in time for the visitors to dress for dinner, should the distance be great or the weather bad. It must be here understood, that this description of visit is not for a dinner, or for a day or two, but very frequently for weeks. Sometimes the carriage has to return, in consequence of the roads being mountainous and inaccessible. This is extremely inconvenient, because it compels the horses to do double work; but is famous sport for the negro, who now has all his own way with the vehicle and horses, and can take his time, or hurry the animals, as he pleases. The roads, too, are a fine excuse, should he choose to loiter; for, in the country parts, unless you risk the springs of your chaise, more than any prudent man would be inclined to do, there is no possibility of proceeding for any distance at a quicker rate than six or seven miles an hour. Fortunately, however, the climate is in favor of the animal; for if the groom has only the common humanity to rub the horse down for a few minutes, he may turn him into the pasture with perfect impunity, and there is

no fear of colds, cramps, &c., as in this country; but some boys are so cruel, and, withal, so lazy, as to drive the horses to the field, as soon as the harness is taken off, thereby risking the life of perhaps a most valuable beast, merely to avoid a few moments trouble to himself; but that he has done so, will never be confessed.

CHAPTER IV.

The Negro—His Origin and Country—Facts regarding Slavery—Slave Ships—Importation—Description of the African Race—Character and Habits—Employment—Definition of the Terms Estate, Plantation, Penn, and Settlement—Curious Names of Places—Negro Houses, Grounds, Gardens, and Stock—Marriages—Negro Idea of Freedom—Estimated Value, and Depreciation of late Years—Burials—Anecdote—Negro Property—Run-a-ways—Anecdote.

As yet, little has been mentioned relative to the negro character, that would furnish the reader with a proper idea of the being whose acts he is about to find recorded. The time is now arrived for the information. As in this transient sketch it is needless, and would be superfluous, to particularize years and months, suffice to say, that ever since the year 1655, when Great Britain commenced a permanent settlement of the West India Colonies, the slave-trade remained in full force until its abolition in the year 1807. During this immense space of time, innumerable negroes were brought, by the sanction of government, from the coast of Africa, and settled on the different properties then forming in the West India Islands. As erroneous reports have been industriously propagated, relative to the situation of the negro at the time he came into possession of the European, his treatment on the occasion, and his subsequent sufferings, it seems quite consistent with the intention of this publication, that these wilfully exaggerated statements should be corrected, and facts laid open. Pages have been written in pam-

phlets, tracts, and newspapers, and much without the slightest foundation, enumerating the horrid cruelties perpetrated by the whites, whilst entrapping the poor African in his native country—by dragging him from his parents, or his wife and children; the means used to lure him into their toils; the savage barbarity with which he was subsequently treated on board the vessel, where so many were crammed together, as scarcely to admit of one half arriving at the place of destination, and various other horrid narratives unnecessary to be detailed. It is not proposed to deny that cruelties were practised in some of the slave vessels employed in the traffic; nor is it to be contradicted, that, in some instances, negroes may have been clandestinely obtained; but it is asserted, and the information is gained from the most authentic sources, that the following is the actual and ostensible method by which slaves were procured from the African slave-merchants by the captains or supercargoes of the vessels engaged in the trade while it lasted.

The Africans are a race of mortals divided into countless tribes. Each tribe takes the name of the district or country which it inhabits; such as Congo, Wawee, Nago, Eboe, Corroimentee, Papa, &c. &c. Among these tribes there are various petty chiefs, holding absolute power over the particular party or section he commands. From their wandering and licentious mode of life, inveterate feuds arise, which terminate in deadly encounters. As they possess neither means nor inclination to subsist more than their own clan, whatever portion, on either side, escape with their lives, but are captured, *were in former days* sacrificed in due form on the

following morning, by way of reward and compensation to the idol or deity the conquerors considered as having given them the victory. This indiscriminate immolation ceased, as soon as it was known that white men would give a value in trinkets, weapons, cloth, and other articles, for the prisoners. Thus, instead of murdering, and, in most cases, devouring their fellow-creatures, (for the Corromentees and many other nations are *Anthropophagi*,) they carried them in bonds to the coast, and there received a boon for having thus abstained from the commission of a revolting crime. If the purchase of these beings, so providentially snatched from a barbarous death, could constitute sin, then the *government* have it to answer for, who not only *sanctioned* the traffic, but made it *compulsory* on every settler to possess himself of a certain number of African labourers, according to the extent of his property: this point is not, however, here to be discussed. The negroes thus obtained, were carried over to the islands, and eventually sold to the planters. It frequently happened, that families of two, three, or even four individuals, were found to be among the cargo of slaves; and, in such cases, they were almost always *purchased by the same person*, for the sake of interest as well as humanity; although this well-known fact has been denied by the enemies of the colonies; and little or no work was expected, or exacted from any of them, until they became accustomed to the climate, and somewhat conversant with the language of the inhabitants.

Years being now elapsed since the importation of slaves was suspended, it is a very erroneous idea to suppose that most of them are Africans. Should

a correct census be taken at the present time, and the black population properly classified, it is more than probable that nine-tenths would be found to be creoles. Certain it is, that, in some properties of considerable extent, there are not more than four or five Africans out of two or three hundred slaves. In forming a judgment of the negro character, it is neither fair nor possible to decide, after a few months residence among them, as many have done; and this has caused the false opinions that now exist concerning that race throughout our own country. We are well aware that the offspring of parents habitually vicious, frequently follow them in their evil inclinations. In like manner, no one would feel ambitious to purchase a Saragossa colt, so long as the sire's reputation remained sullied, and notorious for vice. The wandering and predatory life led by this sable race in their own country, must be considered as inimical to every good feeling, and thus formed the breast into a nursery of wickedness; with neither the light of religion, nor the laws of morality, as a guide, the heart became a receptacle for all corrupt passions, and the being thus constituted, was transported to the West Indies, with the additional untoward feeling of injury rankling in his bosom against his supposed oppressors.

A negro of the present day is somewhat a different being. From his intercourse with the white people, and his altered mode of life, he has gained an acuteness of perception, and a clearness of judgment, little inferior to many of his lighter coloured brethren; but he still retains, to an enormous extent, a powerful inclination to subtlety, sullenness, and indolence. His principal wish and ambition for

freedom is, that he may *live a life of idleness*. Ever careless of the morrow, he looks but for the gratification of to-day. A great many have for years been deemed *trust-worthy*; but the innumerable instances of treachery from such individuals, developed during the course of the "Baptist insurrection," as they themselves call it, have for ever deprived the race of a title to that virtue. The negro is seldom active in his master's work; because he only considers it *fair* that he should save himself for his own when his master's hours are expired. He thinks nothing of the most bare-faced falsehood, and is extremely plausible in his statements and excuses. Those of the household may be deemed cleanly; but the generality are otherwise. It is not true, that they are fond and kind parents; on the contrary, they generally care little for their offspring, otherwise than as a screen from labour: a few solitary exceptions may be found. A mistaken idea prevails, that negroes have always fine white and even teeth; this must have originated in the contrast between the teeth and the skin, for there is no class of beings on earth whose dental organs are so unsound, uneven, and soon lost, which is occasioned by an inordinate propensity for sweets, hot peppers, tobacco, and spirits, at all hours of the day and night.

Every thing is carried on the head, and it is astonishing what immense loads they will convey for a great distance; from eighty to one hundred pounds of their own yams or cocoas is not unusual to be taken to market. When we say *their own*, we mean that in their possession; because, whether grown on their own ground, or stolen from their master, it is still deemed *their own*, particularly

in the article of corn, as the following anecdote will prove: A proprietor, who had been but a few weeks in the island, observing that much of his Indian corn had been stolen, reprimanded the watchman, and threatened to punish him if he permitted further depredation. The negro, with the greatest *non chalance*, immediately thus addressed the master: "Massa please, massa no know de way of dis country yet; when massa been longer wid me, massa will know how dem dibide de crop of corn." "How, sir! what do you mean?" said the master: "do you suppose I will allow my corn to be stolen when I go to the expence of putting a watchman in the corn piece to protect it?" "No, massa, me no mean dat," replied the plausible fellow; "but me tell massa, *for true*, how dem share de corn. Massa plant de corn wid him niggah (negro.) Massa clean it well, bumbye, corn begin to get ripe, and bird take for him share. Niggah keep always taking for him share. Den, when quite ripe, massa take what is left *for him share!*"

Like the white person, a negro is of various size and shape, and the countenance varies considerably; but, of course, the flat nose and thick lips in almost all are striking features. His employment is so diversified, that it would be inexpedient to state further, than that he does all the work of the estate, the plantation, and the penn.

It may be well here to explain that these properties are denominated *estates*, where the sugar, rum, and molasses are produced. The *plantation* is a more general term, and comprehends those on which are cultivated coffee, pimento, ginger, cotton, arrow-root, and other minor products. The *penn*,

answers exactly to our breeding farm, as on it are bred horses, mules, steers, (*i. e.* oxen,) and all kinds of stock, and from which the butcher is supplied with fat cattle for the market. There is also another description of property, called a *settlement*; which may be merely a residence; or it may produce, to a trifling extent, all the articles cultivated on the plantation. On most of these possessions are found either logwood, fustic, lignum-vitæ, or ebony. In some of the mountain lands, cedar is in abundance; and there is no scarcity of mahogany, or other valuable timber, suitable to almost every purpose required.

Where every body has a right to name his residence as he pleases, it is not extraordinary that some ludicrous appellations should occasionally be met with. Thus we see the property of one, who has earned his money in the employment of a carpenter, called *Axe and Adze*. He, who has spent the early part of his life at sea, and subsequently become possessed of a comfortable settlement, will denominate it *Main-top*. The man of letters, who enjoys pleasing recollections of his college life, resides at either Oxford, or Cambridge. He, whose favorite employment is a ramble with his dog and gun, will be satisfied to date his letters from no place but *Sportsman's Hall*. The swain, who can never sufficiently tax his memory with the name of her from whom perhaps grim death alone has for ever separated him, feeds his imagination with melancholy pleasure, by designating his residence *Mount Elizabeth*, or *Catherine Hall*. And that man, who deems it important that so renowned a name as the one he (probably by chance) possesses, should be

by him perpetuated, will not, hesitate to make his property bear it also; thus we find a *Drunmond Lodge*, a *Riley's*, a *Mount Vernon*, a *Vaughan's Field*, &c. As to the *Mount Pleasants*, The *Retirements*, The *Contents*, The *Friendships*, The *Prospects*, and The *Retreats*, they are innumerable. But the most uncouth are generally such as are christened by the sable race, who have amassed sufficient funds to purchase a small run of land and form a settlement. Among others equally strange, we actually find, *Be Thankful*, *Country go so*, *Try See*, *Q Cottage*, *Hog Hole*, *Come See*, *Try all*, *Run-a-way Bay*, &c. and many others equally extraordinary.

A negro turns out to his work by daylight in the morning, being summoned by three cracks of the driver's whip: this instrument is now abolished, and has been for some time, for any uses but as a substitute for a labour bell, and as an emblem of office for the head man. He proceeds leisurely to where his employment lies, and commences work with his companions. The cooks to every gang prepare the breakfast for each labourer. At about nine o'clock, the whip cracks, and all enjoy their breakfast, and rest till the whip again sounds, about ten o'clock, for work: at half past one the conch shell is blown, as a signal for dinner, and two hours' recreation is now allowed; at the expiration of which, the shell is heard again, and the work continues till nearly dusk, when all return to their suppers and bed.

It probably is not generally known, that every negro has his house, large or small, on the property to which he belongs, with a good sized garden adjoining. This is often erected by himself, but with every assistance from his master, and consists of from

one to four, or even five to six rooms. Posts are firmly fixed in the ground, at a distance of three feet from each other; between these it is wattled, (similar to lathing,) and plastered with mortar, or good clay; the top is well covered with thatch, and made perfectly weather tight. Some are uncommonly well furnished, and have hanging lamps. The garden is only a *home* concern, for a few yams, cocoas, peas, &c., when want of leisure, or a fit of laziness, prevents his going to the large ground; as, at a little distance, but usually on the same property, each negro has what is called "*his ground*." There is no limit to the extent of this piece of land; and some negroes, who are industrious, cultivate from a rood to an acre, or even more, changing to a new spot, as the old ground gets poor. Much money is made by a steady negro, from the sale of provisions, tobacco, and corn produced in his ground; also by the rearing of poultry and pigs. Some are allowed to keep cattle and sell the produce annually; and a few obtain permission to possess a horse, which enables them to convey their produce to market in large quantities.

In former days, a negro marriage was never heard of; but now, it is by no means an uncommon occurrence. When a couple make up their minds to a matrimonial connection, the permission of the master is applied for, and immediately granted. The sanction, in writing, being produced to the minister, all necessary forms are gone through, relative to asking in church, &c., and a day fixed, when the union takes place. Friends are invited, and the usual ceremonies and festivities conclude the business. On these occasions, the master and mistress

generally contribute, if the individuals are worthy of their indulgence. Whenever it occurs near a Moravian settlement, the minister, if asked, invariably performs the duty, without fee or reward. The whole party receive from the proprietor a glass of wine each, to drink this toast, "May the single be married, and soon so; may the married be happy, and long so."

Previous to matrimony becoming at all general among the negroes, a worthy and pious couple, the owners of a fine coffee plantation, in a southern parish, were extremely desirous of promoting its institution, and adopted all proper means for that purpose, by plainly pointing out to the people, the consequences of the sinful life they were leading, and affording every encouragement to such as, after due consideration, could make up their minds to enter the holy state. A length of time elapsed ere a single candidate came forward; at last, one pair put in their claim to the promised indulgences, stating their willingness to become man and wife. The prudent mistress, although rejoiced to see a commencement, felt it her duty to postpone the ceremony, until *she* could be convinced that the feelings of the individuals were such towards each other as to warrant a fair prospect of a favourable result. They were daily instructed in the various responsibilities of the married state, and the consequences of a deviation from their duty clearly shown. Weeks of this probation and preparation passed; and, when deemed fit subjects, a day was fixed for the union in due form. It will readily be supposed, that neither master nor mistress had been backward in presents, by way of encouragement to those who were about to be united, and as an

incitement to have associates to follow so good an example. The day arrived, and at the appointed hour every thing was ready for the performance of the ceremony, but (*novel like*) *no bride made her appearance*. The forlorn bridegroom expressed himself quite ready and willing to perform *his* contract, and could not account for the absence of his intended. Messengers were sent in search of her, but she was no where to be found: at length they discovered her, concealed in an obscure corner of the property, with a determination, fixed and immoveable, to continue her former mode of life, giving, as a reason for such resolution, that she had lived with the man for many years, in peace and comfort, without being married, and that she felt quite certain, if they were thus tied together, not to be separated, he would beat and ill-treat her, and they would be miserable. No entreaties, no persuasions, no protestations, on his part could prevail on her to alter her determination.

In the preceding remarks respecting houses, &c. it will be borne in mind, that negroes of fair character are more particularly alluded to; but there are a great many who possess neither house nor ground, pig nor poultry, and have scarcely a shirt to their backs—such may be termed "*the scum*" of each property. Their habits are vicious; and their ideas gross and depraved in the extreme. They shun their work, rob their master and their companions with impunity, and would not so much as erect a "wig-wam" to rest in at night; but skulk about, and sleep under trees, or in the hut of any one that will afford them shelter. They are constantly found in the hospital, afflicted with some inveterate sore,

or loathsome disease: on the cure being effected, neither threats, entreaties, nor even indulgence, can induce an improvement in their character or mode of living. The sun rises, not to brighten, but to exhibit the same dull, lazy, dirty-looking animal sneaking to the field, invariably behind the rest; and only sets, to hide his profligate and nefarious actions from those he is about to plunder.

As regards freedom, their ideas can be better judged of by what fell from one of themselves, than from any opinions we can form. A conversation on the subject, sometime previous to the rebellion actually taking place, the particulars are as follow:—One of the owners of a large penn, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, once met a mulatto slave belonging to the property near the bridge at Black River, who bore an excellent character, and had realized a considerable sum of money by his various occupations, as saddler, shoe-maker, hair-cutter, upholsterer, fidler, and horse-dealer. He had a large house, well furnished, with a sideboard in his dining room, and a Grecian lamp hanging in his hall. If a mule, mare, or cow, was to be disposed of by any other of the slaves, he was applied to first, as all knew he had cash always by him. By general good conduct he had gained the confidence of his master, who, among other questions, put to him the following:—"Now, William, you have no doubt heard a great deal lately about the negroes getting their freedom: I know you are a sensible man, and can judge correctly what would be the consequence, if freedom was granted to every slave indiscriminately. Tell me, what you think would happen; tell me, if you would wish it; and what is the opinion of

the negroes. Do not disguise your sentiments, for there can be no harm in what you may now say to me." This was his reply: " Massa, de plain trute is, if every body make free, some niggah so vile, dat many of we, who hab a little property, would be murdered first, to get de money and de stock. Massa, as for me, I could'nt dare to go over dat bridge, because dem all know I make money by my trades. Next, massa, dem would break and burn buckra house, and murder buckra man while him house burning. Den, massa, dem get plenty of rum, dem drink too much, and fight for buckra wife; de liquor too trong for dem head, so dem kill each oder, till only few left, and day run to de woods, because king of England would send him soldier to shoot all de rest. Massa, believe me, dat all true."

With respect to the value of negroes, it is quite impossible to state any thing accurate, as the depreciation has been so rapid and so enormous. From fifteen to twenty years ago, a good tradesman, (mason, carpenter, smith, saddler, &c.) of fair character and healthy constitution, would have brought from £180. to £200. currency; an able field male negro of the above description, from £140. to £170. currency; a female, from £110. to £130. currency; stout youths and girls, from £70. to £100.; a healthy infant, about £20. to £25.; and those of inferior description, proportionably lower in price. During the last seven years, if even a purchaser could be found, one quarter of the above sums would not have been offered, for the remark was, Who would buy what is going to be taken away forcibly? What a severe punishment is here inflicted on the

individual, whose only crime is, the **having** inherited from his forefathers a species of property *now deemed untenable*, by reason of the presumed intellectual advances made in humanity.

It has been supposed by some, and even asserted as a fact, that a negro, after dissolution, is merely thrown into a hole dug by his companions to receive his body, which is altogether false. **Certain it is**, that the clergyman is not always expected to perform the duties of burial; because, were **this the case**, the number of divines in each parish must be quadrupled at least, and even then, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge could not supply them in sufficient abundance, as the mortality would be so great, from the risk of the climate, and the labour of the vocation. Every deceased negro is now decently confined and interred. The funeral service is performed by the proprietor or overseer, on the property, and the remains are attended to the grave by the friends and relatives of the departed slave with all due reverence and decorum.

A white individual, however, was once **very** differently treated, as the sequel of the following tale will prove: it was a custom formerly, but **very** properly, of late years, falling into disuse, that every person attending a funeral should afterwards remain and partake of a meal called second breakfast, but which was, in fact, a large dinner. It happened that a jovial old gentleman died at his coffee plantation, in the Santa Cruz mountains, and a very numerous party attended for the ostensible purpose of committing his remains with decency to the grave. It was just at the period denominated *the seasons*, when heavy rains frequently commence about mid-day, or a little

after, and often continue till after dark. As the clergymen had a long distance to come, and was besides rather advanced in years, it was not possible to name an earlier hour than twelve o'clock, and it was hoped the ceremony at least would be concluded ere the rain should fall. Scarcely, however, had the procession reached the grave, which was at some distance from the house, when a tremendous shower compelled a precipitate retreat. Thinking it might soon cease, the corpse was left at the grave, (the negro bearers having absconded,) but it was covered over with a few cloaks, coats, &c. Instead of abating, the storm increased; and, after waiting a considerable time, it was agreed to take the meal first, and thus afford time for the weather to clear. As there was no cessation, the party assembled *within* by some means entirely forgot the the party remaining *without*, and night closed upon them ere it was recollected that the burial had not taken place. Most of the attendants had, from frequent potations, become perfectly oblivious, and nothing could induce a negro at that time of night, and during such terrible weather, to undertake the task of reconveying the corpse into the house. The thunder and lightning, rain and wind, were tremendous, and thus the body remained, until the following morning, when clearer weather, and clearer heads, enabled the clergyman to perform the duty, in presence of those who had remained.

The gross ignorance, or wicked malevolence, of certain hired itinerant fanatics, has also induced them to circulate a report, that should a negro die possessed of any effects, they become the property of his master, and are seized upon by him. Far,

far indeed, is this from the truth; because every thing is distributed with the most scrupulous exactness according to the directions of the deceased; and long before the fatal period are his relations and friends informed by him of his intentions: should, however, the death be sudden, his family inherit according to the strictest laws of primogeniture.

As, in the course of the following narrative, the reader may feel somewhat sceptical relative to the facility with which negroes are stated to travel by night through bye-ways, and through deep woods and districts, supposed to admit of no egress or regress, it may be expedient to apprize him, that on almost every property, comprising even a moderate number of negroes, there will be found a certain portion of worthless ones, designated "*run-a-ways*." These are the worst of the race; who, having committed crimes innumerable, and frequently received the merited castigation, are become so hardened in vice, that they appear reckless of their future character and prospects. After some extensive robbery, or daring adventure, they betake themselves to the woods, and join one of the parties already established in some deep recess, secret cavern, or *cockpit*. The cultivation of a piece of land, for provisions for their own consumption, generally furnishes some hours daily employment to these outcast wretches, while sleep and eating occupies the remainder; but, under the shadow and concealment of darkness, they commit their depredations on the neighbouring provision-grounds, and cut their secret paths from one place to another. Previous to the insurrection of 1831, as well known and so numerous were these places of rendezvous, that it was scarcely possible to find

serious fault with a negro, but he was sure to absent himself from his work, without ceremony, and join the *run-a-ways*.

One instance, among thousands, may suffice. A gentleman having three pair of sawyers at work in the mountainous part of his property, at a spot where he himself could not superintend them, as no horse could travel up, finding for weeks together that only one quarter of the customary work was performed, he ordered them to bring home all their tools, and commence peeling ginger with the rest of the people. They did so for some days, but instead of peeling from eighteen to twenty-five pounds, the usual average, they never exceeded five or six pounds, nor could the overseer get them to do more. He, therefore, told them one morning, that if they did not make better work during the day, they should be employed in digging and carrying the ginger instead of peeling. They performed the *short* compliment again, and *absconded* to the woods at night.

CHAPTER V.

Information as to the Management, Produce, &c. of the different kinds of Property, with the mode of manufacturing its exportable Commodity—Provision Grounds—Allowance to the Head People—Hospital—The various Gangs—Tradesmen—Effects of the Deficiency Law—Overseers their Emoluments and Responsibility—Book-keepers—Pensioners from various Causes.

THE narrow limits of this publication preclude an enlarged detail of any particular subject, consequently brevity must be tolerated, even on heads with which the reader requires at any rate to be made partially acquainted. Under the designation of "*properties*," will fall estates, plantations, penns, settlements, and residences. On the first of these, the sugar cane alone is cultivated, as the produce for export. This is planted at two seasons of the year, viz. spring and autumn. The stoutest of the negroes are employed to dig oblong trenches, at certain distances, which are called cane-holes, and into which, having previously been properly manured, are placed slips of the sugar cane, having a knot or joint in each; these are covered over and left to grow. Immense fields are thus prepared in the spring, and this crop is ready to cut at Christmas. Some estates commence just *before*, but many defer putting about the mill until *after*, the holidays. This season somewhat resembles our harvest, as groups of labourers are seen cutting bundles of the cane, which, being previously divested of their tops and leaves, are thrown into a cart or waggon, and conveyed to the boiling-house yard. The canes are now thrust between the

rollers of the mill, by which the juice is expressed, and the refuse cane, so crushed, is laid aside for fuel. The cane-tops are excellent food for the cattle; but much of it is also used for fuel. The juice from the mill is carried by gutterings into the boiler, and after having gone sufficiently through its fiery ordeal, passes into the taitoh, where it receives the temperlime, &c., and being removed into flat vessels, called "*skips*," proceeds gradually through the process of granulation. This completed, the *skips* are emptied into casks, standing upon joists, forming a kind of open platform in the curing-house, over a wooden inclined plane, leaning to the centre. In the bottom of each cask a few holes are perforated, and rushes inserted to keep them open. Now commences the process of draining. All the molasses that escapes finds its way, by means of the inclined plane before described, and gutterings, into the still-house, and is subsequently transformed by distillation into Jamaica rum. The sugar being thoroughly freed from the molasses, the cask is filled, and headed up ready for shipment. During this period, called "*crop time*," the estates' people are allowed a moderate share of sugar-cane to eat, of which they are extremely fond, also as much of the delicious liquor as they choose to drink. This species of indulgence is certainly excessively liberal, and greatly decreases the proprietors' advantages, as regards the quantity of produce; but the negroes fatten upon it, and are remarkably healthy during the whole time.

The autumn, or "*fall plant*," as it is called, comes in at the latter end of the crop; and the business is pretty well over by May or June, unless the season has been backward, or the planting has been done too late.

For value and consequence, coffee comes next on the list. In forming these plantations, rich virgin mountain land alone will answer; small patches sometimes grow, and even flourish, in the lowlands, but there are no lowland coffee plantations. The land must be fallen, burnt off, and cleared in time for planting either in spring or autumn. Immense numbers of *pegs* are then procured, each about two feet long, and a line about one hundred yards in length, having small pieces of rag inserted at every four or five feet, according to the distance apart the coffee-trees are intended to be planted; the line is stretched, and a peg put down at each bit of rag; at five feet distance from this range, the same is again done, until the field is entirely pegged.

Next comes the planting gang, who insert one coffee-plant on each side of every peg; these plants have been procured from any ruinate *or* old coffee-piece, as the berry grows without further attention wherever it falls, and have had the tops and roots properly trimmed. This new plantation is kept free of weeds, and either thinned or supplied, as necessary, in two or three months afterwards, leaving one good tree at each peg. A very slight sprinkling of berries will appear on each tree in two years, increases in the third, and at the fourth the field is in full bearing.

As soon as the berries are what is called "*cherry ripe*," or a little before crop commences, the negroes gather them in baskets, delivering a certain quantity by dusk every evening during the crop, according to the stage and extent of the bearing. These ripe berries the next day go through a machine called a

"*pulper*," by which they are divested of the outside skin, and glutinous substance between the skin and berry. After being well washed in cisterns built for the purpose, the whole of the thus purified berries are spread out on immense ranges of mason-work platforms, called "*barbiques*," and exposed to the heat of the sun all day, being frequently turned and shifted with rakes and shovels of a particular construction. At night, each barbieueful is safely pushed up into a centre compartment of the barbieue, called a "*bassecott*," and covered with a tarpaulin. Next morning the contents of the bassecott are spread abroad on the barbieue, and about eight or ten days of this process, in fine hot weather, cures it. The next operation is the grinding mill, which cracks off the parchment skin, without injury to the blue berry inside. All this then passes through the "*fanner*," which throws the trash one way, and the clear berry another, without injury. The latter now goes into the "picking room," where the negroes, standing at an inclined desk with a hole at the bottom part, separate from the good coffee all that is broken, discoloured, or in any way exceptionable; the refuse, so expelled, is designated "*triage*." This is termed "*hand-picking*." The good coffee is now put through different wire sieves, to separate the various sizes and qualities, and is eventually, casked, shook down, rammed, marked, and sent down to the wharf for shipment. Some minor plantations, not possessing the expensive machine called the "*the pulper*," merely dry the berry while in the pulp, mill, fan, and cask it; but the sample is never so fine.

Ginger is propagated from sets, or plants, which being dug from a worn-out ginger piece, or ground

have their roots already attached, and only require to be properly trimmed; but it *must have good land*. The plants are placed in trenches, dug for the purpose, at a distance of about two feet apart, and the plants are set at eight or nine inches wide in the trenches. The best time for planting is the fall. The crop commences in spring. The negroes use no spades, but dig the ginger with their hoes; the small is left on the ground for plants, and the large brought home for peeling. Every negro then receives a small knife from the overseer, with which he peels, as neatly as he can, the outer skin from the ginger; and, for the purpose of cleanliness, keeps the peeled pieces in a tub of clean water, until the day's work is weighed. Grown persons ought to peel from twenty to twenty-five pounds a day, when they have not to dig also, but many can do more. Youths and girls must do from eight to fifteen pounds, according to their capability. The ginger is then placed on clean rush mats, on the barbicue, exposed to the heat of the sun, and carefully turned as often as possible during the day. In this half-dry state, it must not on any account get wet, or it will produce mouldiness, and render it unsaleable. When quite dry, it is generally divided into three separate samples or qualities: the largest and whitest being the prime, the next best being the second quality, and the rest the inferior, or "triage," as in coffee. The various samples are now separately casked, shook down, and headed up, as mentioned of sugar and coffee.

Pimento, or allspice, is of spontaneous growth, and almost invariably sown by the birds in lands termed "*ruinate*," which means such as have been used till worn out, and then allowed to grow up in

bushes and weeds, until time shall have again supplied it with sufficient heart to bear the pimento trees, and indigenous grasses. Of all produce, the pimento requires the least care and labour. In three or four years after the ruinate is cleared up, the pimento begins to bear, and increases in size and fruit rapidly. The tree lives to a great age, and in time occupies much space. When the berries are full, but not ripe, the crop is gathered by negroes, some of whom climb the trees, while others remain below, having forked sticks with which they break off the fruit branches. The more the tree is mutilated, the more it is productive. These berries, stripped from the boughs, are dried on the hot barbicue, cleansed from dust, broken leaves, &c., by being occasionally fanned in the breeze; and, when sufficiently cured, put into coarse bags, made for the purpose, sewed up, marked, and sent down to the wharf for shipment.

From the late sad depreciation in the price of *cotton*, that article has ceased to be cultivated, and is now almost entirely exploded from the West Indies, as the low prices furnish no return for the labour; it is therefore needless to supply any account of its manufacture or growth; but the former is simple, and the latter easily learnt.

Arrow-root is propagated by sets, or plants, which are put into the ground at almost any period from spring to autumn, provided the weather be not decidedly dry. The plants are usually placed at from three to six feet asunder, in rows, with peas or beans between each plant, which come out long before the arrow root is ready; thus allowing it room to spread after its neighbour is removed. When

ripe, the root, which grows to an enormous size, in some cases, is dug up and well washed. Large tubs of clean water are then in readiness, and immense tin graters. The arrow-root is now, *without delay*, grated into the tubs of water, for it must not be dug until all is prepared for the process. When a sufficient quantity is grated, the whole mass is well stirred up together, pressed through a sieve into a clean empty tub, and allowed to stand for a night, the refuse being retained in the sieve, with which the negroes manufacture a kind of coarse cake. By the following morning the arrow-root becomes a sediment at the bottom of the tub, when the water is carefully poured off, fresh water put in, well stirred about, and allowed again to stand. This operation is performed three or four times. When sufficiently cleansed, the arrow-root is well dried in the sun, on clean table-cloths; and, when in a state of perfect aridity, it is ready for use, or exportation.

Castor oil is next in the list of inferior products, and is manufactured after two methods. The tree or shrub from which it is produced ranks with the hardiest of West India plants. The nut, or bean, may be put into the ground at any period of the year, no matter how slovenly. In the course of five or six weeks it is in blossom at various parts, and soon forms on each a cluster of pods, every one producing four or six nuts. If not pulled as soon as ripe, the sun will crack the pod, and the nut falls to the ground, where it again grows spontaneously. It is, however, customary to break off the clusters when at maturity, and dry them in the sun. The nuts, being extracted, are pounded in a mortar, and put into a large iron pot nearly full of water, which

is boiled for some hours, and the scum removed. Any old negro is capable of managing the oil process. When perfectly cleared of the scum it is allowed to cool, the fine clear oil is perceived floating on the top of the water, and requires only to be put into bottles or casks. The other process is even more simple, but requires a machine, called an *oil-press*, into which the ripe nuts are placed, and the oil carefully pressed out of them. This method does not yield so much oil, but it is of fine quality, and nearly free from the usual offensive smell consequent on the common boiling plan. This kind is called *cold-drawn oil*, and bears the highest price. The arrow-root and oil are mostly manufactured on small settlements by people of colour.

It has been said, that most properties produce some of the woods: as logwood, fustic, lignum-vitæ, or ebony; and those in the mountains are seldom devoid of timber, such as cedar, mahogany, broad-leaf, bullet-tree, blood-wood, wild orange, dog-wood, Santa Maria, and a variety of other kinds, useful for building-boards and shingles.

It may also be observed, that all have their corn-fields; that is, the *maize*, or India corn; and some cultivate what is called the Guinea corn also. Independent of these crops, there is no place without its provision ground, which supplies the proprietors' and overseers' houses, with yams, cocoas, plantains, peas, arrow-root, oil, musk and water melons, pine-apples, mangoes, &c. If, however, the produce of this piece of land was confined merely to the purposes for which it is ostensibly appropriated, many of the worthless class of negroes on the property would be absolutely starved. It is,

consequently, from this magazine, that basket loads of provisions are distributed every week to such as are either too lazy, or too feeble, to work their own allotments: to the former, to prevent immediate starvation, and in the hope of inducing a change of conduct; and to the latter, for the sake of humanity.

The *penn* has been reserved till the last, although it ranks in respectability and responsibility with the first, only because it produces nothing in general for exportation, save and except its dye and hard woods. The duties of the negro, on this kind of property, are by no means laborious. A certain portion of them belong to the horse-stable, whose duty it is, under the head groom, to bring in the horses for sale in the morning, rub and clean them well down, and go through the various gradations of breakling to the saddle and draft. At the usual periods the horses are fed, watered, and turned into the pastures. These grooms also clean the stable, repair the tackling, twist new ropes, and clean the break and harness; another division belong to the breeding cattle department. All this is under the charge of a trusty and skilful negro, called the *head penn-keeper*, who has several assistants, and a vast number of boys, who scour the pastures, on some old mare or hack, and bring in all stray animals. In the penn-keeper's duty, all milking, dressing and curing, breaking of steers to the cart, &c., is included; and it is the province of the head penn-keeper to report to the overseer all increase or decrease of stock, gaps in fences, intrusions from neighbouring cattle, &c. These men, and all head people, with the drivers on every

property, receive a bottle of rum each, every Saturday night, with many other indulgences.

The rest of the negroes, are divided into parties, called *gangs*, and their work is apportioned to their abilities. The first, or *great gang*, consisting of the ablest people, undertake the chipping of logwood, making and mending of fences, planting of corn, provisions, and such like; while the "*second gang*," consisting of the more aged, and the youth of both sexes, from about thirteen to eighteen years of age, are employed in lighter works, such as hoeing the weeds from the grass, clearing corn pieces, shelling corn, &c. There is also a small gang, comprising all juvenile negroes, too young to join the second gang, which are stiled *the small gang*, and are employed in carrying grass to the horse-stable in little bundles two or three times a day, and wild vine to the hog-stye in the morning, at noon, and again in the evening.

On every property of any extent is an hospital, called *the hot-house*, for the reception of sick negroes, where great attention is paid to all who are really indisposed. A white medical man is also regularly paid for his attendance, whenever required; and a medicine chest, well supplied, is kept in the overseer's house. A careful negro is excused from all work, entirely to give up his or her whole attention daily at this place, and nightly, when necessary.

The masons, carpenters, &c., work under the head man of each department; and on a penn, there is usually a saddler or two, who repair the damage done by the young colts to the harness.

There is a *driver* to each gang, and a *driveress* to the small one. *The head driver* is the man responsible for all. To him the overseer looks for the orders being carried into effect. Formerly, the situation of overseer was frequently filled by adventurers of low degree, who had repaired to the West Indies without a shilling, perhaps little character, and no education. They could easily first obtain the appointment of book-keeper, with a salary of £50. currency a year, although they never saw a book and had none to keep, because the Deficiency Law authorized the collecting constable to levy a tax on the proprietor of £3. for every negro over and above the number served for by the white people on the property.

For every fifty negroes one white man must be employed; and in the same ratio for whatever number were on the property. In some instances, these individuals applied themselves earnestly, and very soon learnt the business of a planter, by which means they got an appointment, elsewhere, as overseer, with, probably, double or treble salary; and, by various kinds of traffic, (in some cases not the most honourable,) money was rapidly obtained, in consequence of which, many of them at that time held the first rank, and were the most wealthy of the community. It will, nevertheless, be naturally concluded, that they have borne, and continue to bear, irreproachable characters. Latterly, however, young gentlemen, of good families and education, have undertaken, and well performed the duties of the overseer's situation, generally sons of proprietors who had nothing better to hold out to their offspring; and the result is, an immense melioration in the

treatment of the negro, and an improvement in that class of white society.

Where the proprietor is an absentee, and his attorney, or representative, is residing at a distance, the overseer is considered the *father of the family*. He hears all complaints, redresses grievances, issues orders, and is responsible to the attorney for the right management of the property. He is removeable at a moment's warning, and can claim nothing but the salary due to him up to the time of his discharge. His compensation for services varies from about £80. to £200. currency; and, in some cases, even more is given, under peculiar circumstances; but the perquisites and other emoluments are incalculable. Those on sugar estates, generally receive the highest salaries. One good sized penn or plantation, from £120. to £160. is the average. Independent of this annual stipend, and advantages above alluded to, overseers, book-keepers, and all white people, are found in every thing, except their clothing. They have a flock of sheep, a herd of swine, and a fowl yard, at their own disposal; a large ground, well stocked in provisions, and a certain supply of rum and sugar, allowed annually for the service of the property, besides the use of the servants and stock thereon. The overseer's house is always sufficiently furnished, and seldom without one or two spare beds. After the day's labour, the drivers, and other head men, give an account of what work is done, and receive orders for the following day; also gives directions, and makes what alterations he deems expedient. He invariably rides to inspect how things are proceeding in the different departments, and is expected to devote his whole

time to the property duties, but this is very seldom the case; formerly, indeed, many of them led a most loose and profligate kind of life.

The book-keeper is almost a non-entity in some places, as he has no authority from the overseer, and the driver looks upon him as little else than a spy over his actions. In fact, he is merely in the field to see whether or not the driver keeps all his people at their proper work, without partiality, favour, or affection. In the mean time, if he is inclined to learn, he may soon become acquainted with enough of the management to enable him to better his situation; and the step from book-keeper to overseer, with even a small salary at first, is equal in consequence and comfort to that of a lieutenant in the army being raised to the rank of captain.

On every property there will be found a few pensioners, dependant on the overseer's bounty, favoured either from extreme age, former good behaviour, or some other circumstance. Perhaps an industrious female, with four or five small children, will be seen sitting on the steps of the house, waiting to receive a contribution, for herself and small squad, as soon as the overseer has completed his repast; or one of weak intellect, anxiously gazing for the accustomed benefaction.

CHAPTER VI.

Religious Instruction — Adult and Infant Schools — Moravian Missionaries — The Bishop and Clergy — Amusements — Definition of the Term Creole — Anecdote — Game — Fish — Crabber and Fisherman : the Duties and Mode of Catching described — Land Turtle : method of obtaining them — Hog Hunting — Lobsters, Muscles, and Cockles — Oysters growing on Trees explained — The Manatee, or Sea Calf.

Nothing has tended more to cast unmerited odium on the system of management pursued in the West India Islands, than the false and malicious reports that have been raised by the Anti-Slavery Society, and its myrmidons, relative to the deficiency of religious instruction provided for the negro population: for it has not only been asserted that the pastors were *inadequate*, or *unwilling*, to their duties; but that the proprietors were *decidedly averse* to the propagation of the Gospel among their benighted slaves. The falacy of these statements, may be easily exposed, by reference to the reports of the House of Assembly, on the subject of negro religious instruction; the minutes of the various resolutions entered into by the vestries, and other parochial meetings, for the last year at least; and the annual Reports of the Moravian Missionary Society, remarkable alike for their unassuming language, and their strict adherence to truth. In former times, and, indeed, till within the last fifteen or sixteen years, one minister was deemed sufficient for each parish. An addition was then made of a

curate, and afterwards speedily followed the stipendiary curates, thus trebling the number.

Several catechists were then appointed, and schools formed, in various parts of the different parishes. All this, however, although a great boon to the black and brown free population, did not much benefit the working negro, consequently the more pious and benevolent portion of society instituted private schools on their own properties, and at their own expence, fixing certain hours for tuition. In some instances, teachers were hired solely for this purpose. The Infant Schools are continued at intervals throughout the day. Those for the elder children lasted two hours; and the instruction of the adults proceeded in the evening, after daily labour had ceased.

In addition to the clerical gentlemen above alluded to, it may be remarked, that Missionaries has been sent out from numerous societies; but those of the Moravian Mission seemed most industrious, and consequently proved most successful. They devoted their whole time solely to the religious instruction and improvement of the black and brown population, whether bond or free, and established schools in many districts. To this sect the proprietors are indebted for the inculcation of moral and religious duties among the slaves; but the good work performed by the Moravian Missionary was unfortunately defeated by the contrary doctrines propagated by those of the Baptist persuasion. In many of those private schools the children were soon taught to read the Bible accurately; and invariably attended divine worship morning and evening, at which they always assisted in singing

appropriate hymns. It must be granted that all this improvement has occurred during the last fifteen or sixteen years.

The abolition of Sunday markets, also, in a great measure, tended to the better observance of the sabbath; and many of the slaves, who never entered the church formerly, are now remarked as regular attendants. The rectors and curates have also become more profitable servants in their vocation since the arrival of the bishop, evidently proving that the head alone was wanting to set the machine in motion. His lordship has effected considerable improvement in the clergy belonging to his diocese; and, by the appointment of rural deans, has contrived to obtain a true knowledge of their habits and inclination to usefulness.

With respect to churches, additions have been made in every parish; and there is now certainly no deficiency of shepherds or folds, if the flock feel inclined to assemble. To an attentive observer the fact must be glaringly evident, that every class of society has undergone a partial melioration, since the light of the gospel has been more widely diffused. The intoxication and debaucheries formerly practised now rarely if ever occur. It cannot be denied, that, in many cases, the *means* are vanished; but we may hope the *inclination* has accompanied them. The general character of the second class of society is certainly marked by steadiness and industry, where alone was formerly witnessed licentiousness and want of application. This change must have a good effect on the lower classes, from the improved example being constantly before their eyes.

In the first grade of West India society, which, of course, includes proprietors and their families, professional individuals, merchants, &c., we have the finest specimens of hospitality and liberal ideas. To be a stranger in the island, furnishes sufficient claims to kindness and assistance; but a letter of introduction from a relative, friend, or acquaintance, is the best recommendation, and ensures more than money could purchase.

The daily ordinary movements of a respectable family have already been given; and we shall now invite the reader to trace the character through the usual public amusements. When the European, who has not visited these climes, shall learn that the thermometer generally ranges, in the lowlands, on an average throughout the year, of from eighty to one hundred in the shade, and sometimes even higher, it is probable he will be sceptical, when informed that the inhabitants not only enjoy the amusement of dancing, but also have annual horse races, in almost every parish of importance. Independent of what are termed the subscription assemblies, there is invariably a race ball, and one given by the officers at the militia inspection. These balls are always genteelly patronized, and handsomely managed. At a *race ball*, the stewards of the races officiate as stewards of the ball. At the military balls, a field officer, two or three captains, and the like proportion of subalterns, generally are nominated. At the subscription assemblies, the resident gentlemen take it by turns to perform the duties of the evening.

The "*creole*" is naturally fond of dancing; and those who are not creoles speedily and unconsciously imbibe the feeling with extraordinary aptitude.

Before we proceed further, let the reader pardon a slight digression, since it is made to explain and set to rights a vulgar and erroneous, though very commonly conceived, opinion. Many people are impressed with the idea, that a *creole* must have been born of black or coloured parents. Such a notion is ridiculous. The meaning of *creole* is precisely this: *an individual born in the West Indies, of white parents!* If there is the slightest tinge in his parentage, he is then denominated *a person of colour*; consequently, no slur attaches to the term *creole*, as is sometimes improperly and illiberally supposed. The above remarks will not be deemed irrelevant, when the reader is assured that a well-informed clergyman in England, some time ago, asked a lovely young lady, recently from Jamaica, "whether it was her father or her mother that was black." The question naturally created surprise in the breast of the lady, who immediately inquired "if he perceived any colour in her skin (which was unusually fair) to warrant the remark." His reply was, "Certainly not, Madam, but quite the contrary; yet, as you say you are a *creole*, I presumed *both* your parents could not be white."

To return to the assemblies. The manner in which they are conducted would probably astonish a stranger. There is no lack of any thing that may tend to render the evening pleasant; the contrivances to cool the room, without danger to the merry group, the variety of refreshments, the delicacies produced at the supper table, the decorum with which all is conducted, and sometimes the talents of the "black orchestra," are worthy of much praise.

The following and successive days are generally filled up with parties on board the vessels in the harbour, if it is a seaward town, and at private houses, so that the visitors from the adjacent country seldom calculate on returning for a few days, when such pastimes occur.

The races are most excellent, and would not disgrace a secondary British course. Little black or brown boys are the jockies, who cut a most fantastical figure in the dresses usually provided for them.

From the excessive heat of the climate the sport of shooting is seldom resorted to, being too laborious an amusement for the European; yet scarcely any person makes the voyage without his fowling-piece and its concomitants. Indeed, the islands do not boast of the pheasant, partridge, woodcock, grouse, hare, or wild rabbit; in the rainy season, however, there is abundance of wild ducks, teal, widgeon, and snipe; and all the year round plenty of pea-doves, quail, ground doves, and great a variety of wild pigeons; the ring-tail pigeon is in high estimation, and is considered a great delicacy. It is perfectly true, that it is so fat, during the prevalence of a particular berry growing wild in the woods, that when shot from the top of a tree, it frequently bursts with the fall. There being no game laws, the pigeons, wild fowl, &c., are usually shot by the people of colour, who are fond of the sport, and can endure the fatigue. From them the white people purchase, although gentlemen will sometimes undergo the labour of a day's shooting for the sake of variety; but it is not uncommon to send out one of their own people when game is required.

Fresh fish is so easily procured by the net, and consequently sold so cheap, that no one need try his patience with rod and line to procure a dish of excellent fish for the table. At any rate, notwithstanding the rivers abound in fish, angling is not a desirable pastime, by reason of the exposure to intense heat, and the great annoyance from insects by the river side. Besides this, every property has its fisherman and crabber. The duty of the former is to set his fish-pots in the river, and furnish a supply of fish, and sometimes prawns and crawfish, to the proprietor's or overseer's table. The overplus is his own perquisite; and by the sale of it he frequently makes much money.

"The *crabber*," just before dusk, stops up, with bunches of grass, a quantity of crab holes in the morass. The crabs run about to seek their food by night; but such as are thus imprisoned become stupified, and cling to the tuft of grass, and are therefore readily secured in the morning. The number required from him is commonly three or four dozen; but, if skilful, he may easily procure three or four times that quantity, which is his own emolument, and is readily sold at five pence per dozen. Although the crab here alluded to is thought a great luxury, there are other descriptions, called the black and soldier crab, which are equally prized.

Next on the list of luxuries is "*the land turtle*," which abound in the morass, and are generally obtained by the people of colour, who, in dry weather, set fire to the morass in different parts at once, and catch the turtle as they attempt an escape from the devouring element. They make excellent turtle soup, and furnish a most savory and delicious dish when

cooked in the shell, after a plan with which the black cooks are usually well acquainted. For a fine land turtle, weighing from four to six or seven pounds, the average price is *five-pence currency*. Families commonly purchase a quantity at a time, keeping them in a crawl or penn; in a large tub of water sunk into the ground. Their food is charcoal, plantain skins, entrails of poultry, &c.

Before we relinquish the subjects of luxuries and amusements, the spirit of "*hog-hunting*" must not be forgotten. This pastime is one of the most laborious that can be conceived; as it must be pursued on foot, in the deepest woods, over rocks and fallen trees, through almost impervious underwood, and every obstacle that arises. Few white people make the attempt; but browns and blacks are both passionately fond of these desperate encounters. They carry guns, and are accompanied by large dogs trained for the purpose. On reaching a spot where the animal is expected, all eyes are on the look-out for a tree bearing the marks of a wild hog having first wallowed in the mire, and then rubbed itself against the trunk. From the height of the mud upon the tree, and its quantity, an experienced hog-hunter will be able to judge of the size of the animal. The foot is then traced, and the dogs commence the hunt. Should the game prove to be a large boar, or a sow with young pigs, a fearful encounter inevitably takes place; and sometimes both dogs and men suffer. Till the hog is secured, the fowling-piece is mostly resorted to. The flesh is uncommonly fine; and, when *barbicated*, is considered dainty food.

Along the sea-coast, famous "*lobsters and crabs*" are frequently to be met with; but, from their

enormous size, are generally coarse, and consequently of little value.

On the sand-banks are found great quantities of "*muscles and cockles*," of delicious flavor, which are procured by little idle brown boys, who walk into the water, bring them up between their toes, and fill their baskets in a short space of time, and are purchased for a mere trifle. The "*oyster*" is also plentiful in some particular districts; it is, however, of a very diminutive size, and from the circumstance of its frequently adhering to the lower branches of the mangrove tree, which often lies on the ground in the water, the apparently incredible report of "*oysters growing on trees*" has originated; this, however, is certainly correct.

There is also an extraordinary species of fish and flesh combined; sometimes caught on the coast, called "*the manatee, or sea-calf*;" by some deemed good eating, and disliked by others. The flesh resembles veal so much, that, but for the very different formation of the bones, which are all quite round; a person, ignorant of the existence of such a creature, would certainly believe he was partaking of fine veal.

CHAPTER VII.

Insects: the Sand-fly, the Musquito, the Scorpion, the Centepede, the Cockroach, the Wasp, the Duck Ant, the Flying Ant, the Black Ant—The Bat—Lizards—Snakes—the Alligator—the John Crow—Wild Shrubs and Flowers—Humming Birds—the Banana Bird—the Nightingale.

As all tropical climates abound in an immense variety of insects, to enumerate and describe the whole would occupy considerably more space than can be allotted to that particular head in this little publication. Those, therefore, from which the stranger is likely to derive annoyance, will principally come under view; and it will be found, that the smallest of the tribe of torments, called the "*sand-fly*," stands prominent in its powers of inflicting punishment with impunity on the new comer. It is no larger than the head of an ordinary sized pin, it gives no warning, and makes no noise; and, when a severe bite is felt, the sufferer looks in vain for the assailant: when it has either made its escape, roused by the start of its punctured victim, or remains at its post, in full confidence that its pigmy size, will prove a security from detection and molestation.

Not so, his brother tormentor, "*the musquito*." This insect exactly resembles the English gnat, but is of various dimensions. The morass musquito is the largest and most fierce, the common house musquito is next in size, and the wood musquito is the smallest; but they all alike severely punish with their venomous bite. No bed can be tolerated.

without what is called a musquito net. This is an entire enclosure of leno muslin, sewed all round the top rail of the bedstead, and long enough to hang down on all sides to the ground. During the day it is rolled up, and tied by tapes near to the top. Just before dusk, when the musquitoes become most troublesome, the bed is brushed out with a towel, or some such article, to clear it of all these intruders, and the net smartly let down; the lower portion is then well tucked-in under the bedding, to prevent their entry, and the occupier must be very quick in his movements when he opens a small part of it, to creep in, else he will have some musical bed-fellows, whose incessant buzz alone would deprive him of sleep, even were they kind enough to refrain from using the proboscis. As this little pest is generated in every pool, or portion of stagnant water, by the heat of the sun acting upon it, they are most numerous and troublesome after heavy rains. It is no uncommon occurrence for ladies to be laid up for many weeks after their arrival, from the inflammatory sores occasioned by their venomous attacks. The itching is so excessive, that it is almost impossible to refrain from scratching; the consequence of which indulgence is immoderate pain, and violent ulceration to the victim. A little laudanum rubbed on the bites will be found the best remedy. Ladies sometimes wear the musquito boot, which is made of muslin, very loose, tied round the knee, and fastening like a gaiter above the shoe, or with a foot inserted into it. Gentlemen either wear boots, or make up their minds, handkerchief in hand, to ward off, as much as possible, the insidious attack, by constant brushing towards the feet.

The "*scorpion*" next claims our attention; and, fortunately for the human race, this insect is not so numerous as generally represented. Its body is somewhat in shape like a crab, having also similar claws; but it has a long thick tail, in which the sting is carried. They sometimes even intrude themselves into the bed, and, being flat, can be concealed in the smallest crevice. It sometimes lies dormant for hours; but, when disturbed, runs very fast. The sting is extremely venomous, and immediately inflames. Sweet oil is a good application, but laudanum better. The scorpion, although a most poisonous insect, is frequently seen in a very torpid state, at which period it is supposed to be asleep; for, if aroused, it immediately stings any thing obstructing his progress. Being called one day rather suddenly from my room, while dressing, to render assistance to a negro who had met with an accident, I threw on my dressing gown, did what was necessary for the wounded man, and returned in about half an hour. On removing my dressing-gown, a large scorpion dropped from it to the ground, and ran along the floor till I killed it; it had no doubt been asleep, and concealed in the folds of the cloth. At another time, my brother walked a distance of about one hundred yards with his bare feet in his slippers; but feeling something like a dead leaf in one slipper, he took it off and shook it, when out dropped a tremendous scorpion. In neither case was any injury sustained. In the latter, it may be supposed that the foot, having remained quite flat on the back of the insect, prevented it raising its tail to accomplish the sting.

The "*centipede*" is in form and shape something similar to a caterpillar, but grows to a large size,

sometimes five or six inches long, supposed to have a hundred legs, as its name implies, and is more common in old than in new houses. The bite is venomous, and relieved in like manner with that of the scorpion.

The "*cockroach*" is a most troublesome and destructive visitor. It is an inhabitant of every house, quite impossible to keep out, and totally impracticable to eradicate. Some of the species have the faculty of flying, as well as excessive velocity of foot, and, therefore, frequently elude the vigilance of their pursuers. Unfortunately, this insect is so very prolific, that one pair will soon fill the most extensive mansion with its family. Their depredations are not confined to any particular kind of food, for every thing is devoured with the same avidity. Nothing composed of leather can withstand its attacks. The smell from it is also extremely offensive. Should the smallest spot of grease happen to fall on clothes of any description, the piece is sure to be destroyed. They are not, however, known to bite the human species, but are otherwise a sufficient nuisance. A cockroach was confined in a box, containing nothing but arsenic, for many weeks; at the expiration of that period it still survived, although it must have consumed some of the poison; and the only difference was, that the insect had turned *perfectly white*, instead of the reddish black its body bore before the experiment. The cockroach is one of the most intolerable pests of the insect tribe, for there is no possibility of guarding against its presence and attacks. It creeps into the most hidden recesses, and enters through the most minute fissure, nor can any thing be placed beyond the reach of its wings.

On my journey once from Spanish Town to St. Elizabeth, I put up for the night at the Toll-gate Tavern. Another party happened to arrive shortly afterwards, and, being acquainted, we dined together. There happened to be, among other dishes on the table, a cold duck. I requested a wing; and on the gentleman nearest to it commencing his operations, out ran a fine cockroach. My appetite, however, was pretty keen, and flattering myself with the idea that it had only sought shelter in the inside of the bird, without detriment to the outside, it did not deprive me of my meal.

Again, calling on a friend one day, somewhat fatigued with riding, he was pouring me out a glass of weak rum and water, (the usual Jamaica drink,) when out came two cockroaches of very large dimensions; of course, the liquor in the tumbler was lost, and the waiting boy reprimanded for his negligence in not having emptied the water monkeys, filling them afresh, and putting in the stoppers. These cases are merely mentioned, out of hundreds, to show that no place is safe from their intrusions.

The "*wasp*" is of greater magnitude than the same insect in England, and its bite much more malignant; the poison injected is of so violent a nature, that a bite on the forehead will close up both eyes in less than an hour, and cause the whole face and head to swell. Laudanum should be first well rubbed into the wounded spot, and the adjacent parts speedily bathed with some camphorated rum, or fomented with camomile, as hot as it can be borne. The favorite haunt for the wasp is under the eaves of any thatched dwelling. Here they hang their nests, similar to a small honey-comb,

by a filament inconceivably diminutive, and remain a perfect nuisance until destroyed, which the negroes effect by the smoke of burning thatch placed beneath.

Another terrible plague is the "*duck ant*," or wood ant. This insect is found every where, in doors and out of doors, in an enormous nest, (a mass of earth and masticated leaves,) formed into small compartments, somewhat similar to hundreds of honeycombs plastered together, which is fixed on the top or side of a house, or between the branches of the highest trees, or lowest shrubs. This ant resembles a nut-maggot, only that it is flat, has feet, and emits a very offensive smell. Even a newly built house will be soon infested by them, as they move in tracks along the ground in every direction. As soon as any obstacle is met with, such as a tree, post, wall, or side of a house, a covered way is formed by them, with the most surprising rapidity, up the obstacle in the direction they propose travelling. If up a house, and they intend to build their nest at the top, innumerable tracks of this sort are thrown up by way of shelter, or for the purpose of secrecy. Under these covered passages they labour day and night, bringing up materials for the *city*: for, where millions inhabit, it can scarcely be termed a house. The substance of which it is formed seems to be a mixture of earth and dry leaves, finely powdered and moistened, so as to make an uncommonly tenacious cement. Of the same materials are the covered ways composed, but they seem to have the addition of fine sand; and should a portion be broken by accident or design, it will be immediately repaired, by the travelling

workmen, as often as damaged, so as to keep their labours private. The nests increase in time to the size of an American flour-barrel, and become not only very unsightly to the mansion, but a dangerous appendage, as the inmates are constantly feeding themselves on all the softer timbers, with which any part of the house may be composed. They are passionately fond of deal, and the Santa Maria, and prove a great annoyance inside as well as outside of the house, forming their unsightly tracks in every direction. The only possible mode of removing them, is to dig a hole nearly through the top of the nest, and insert a quantity of arsenic and white sugar, on which they eagerly feed, and then devour each other. The nest and tracks may subsequently be destroyed with impunity; but woe unto him who attempts to remove the nest without first poisoning the ants; he will soon have a colony in every room, too numerous to eradicate.

Another species very similar, but possessing the advantage, if so it may be deemed, of *temporary wings*, make periodical visits. They usually take their flight by night; and the first notice of their approach, is perhaps the meat on the table, and your plates being covered with wings and crawling maggots. This extraordinary and disgusting appearance is occasioned by the fact, that almost immediately after their alighting, the wings drop off, and they become to the eye a complete *duck ant*. Independent of this annoyance, they settle about the person, and are not agreeable to the feelings, when struggling for escape between the linen and skin of an individual already overwhelmed with perspiration. The only remedy is removing to

another room for the rest of the evening, if the swarm has not already occupied every room in the mansion. The common "*black ant*" is a terrible plague, finding its way into every thing eatable. The only preventative is to fix a table in your larder, pantry, and store, with its feet in bowls of oil, (for if water is used, they make bridges of each other, and cross it,) on which all sweets, eatables, and drinkables must be placed.

In consequence of the windows and jalousies being always open, "*the bat*" has free egress and regress, of which he ever and anon avails himself. Nothing is more common than to see one or more of these unwelcome little creatures making their circuitous flights through a handsomely decorated room, where the family are assembled; they, however, usually abscond after a few circular tours, and are quite harmless, so that the *idea* is the worst part of the visit. Nevertheless, when permitted to gain possession of any part of the house, under the shingles, or into any cracks or crevices in the wall, the scent produced by them is intolerable.

To a stranger, the presence and toleration of the "*lizard*" tribe proves both offensive and surprising. These little animal insects commonly run across the table, and drink any water that may have been dropped thereon; or even climb the side of a finger glass to satisfy their thirst. They frequently run up the back of a chair, spring on the shoulder, and from that upon the table, without the slightest apparent fear, in quest of food or water. Being perfectly harmless, they are never molested, as they destroy flies, spiders, and sometimes small ants. Even the

bed is not always free from their visits, as they ascend the posts, and await a fair opportunity to seize the unwary fly as he dangles from the tapes of the musquito netting.

The "*wood lizard*," the "*baby lizard*," and the "*croaking lizard*," are all domestic ones. The former has a sleeky skin, like the common snake, and slips about in search of food. The second is extremely diminutive, as its name implies, and subsists merely on the smallest of the fly species. But the latter looks hideous, is grey mottled, and has a large head. He generally takes up his abode under the shingles, and issues a most disagreeable and piercing croak. All of them, however, are equally innoxious. Those thus briefly described, are principally such as frequent habitations; but there is a great variety out of doors. Of them, none are worthy of remark, excepting the *large green species*. From the circumstance of his possessing the power to change his colour from brown to a much lighter shade, and subsequently to green, he is sometimes designated the "*chameleon lizard*." Certain it is, that he is one colour in the sun, and another in the shade; and it is also notorious, that he assumes the colour of the branch or leaf on which he fixes himself.

Although the "*snake*" is in great variety, there seems no utility in enumerating such as the stranger might not fall in with during a residence of many years, if his occupation did not lie in the woods. The common yellow, and the whip or black snake, therefore, need alone be particularized. Neither are venomous; and both will shun contact with man. The former is usually from three to seven feet long,

and from four to six inches in circumference at the thickest part of the body, and is of a husky mottled yellow. The latter is jet black, and seldom runs more than four feet long, and from two to three inches in circumference.

The "*alligator*" needs no very particular description, being the same animal wherever found. He neither confines himself to sea or river, but is an inhabitant of both. Sometimes seen gently gliding just beneath the surface, in the harbour, with nothing but his snout above water, and sometimes skulking by the side of a river, or sheltering himself beneath the lowest branches of the mangrove, anxiously waiting to pounce upon his unconscious prey. They grow to a large size; but, if unmolested, will never make an attack on man. They are, however, excessively savage if closely pursued, and will seize the nearest object, whether man or dog. So bold is this animal, when pressed by hunger, that many have been known to enter a town, at night, in search of food. Their eggs are often found deposited in the sandy beach; and even the young ones, just emancipated from the shell, have been discovered, secured, and sent to England as curiosities.

It would be an act of downright injustice to pass unnoticed, although now out of its proper place, that most frightful looking, yet most valuable, of all the West India feathered tribe, called the "*John Crow*." This bird is of the vulture genus, very large, and of a brownish black colour: his head is bare of feathers, and a part of the neck is protected by a rough kind of red skin, which has the effect of always making him appear as if he had come fresh from the performance of some desperate deed at the

slaughter-house. But for the race of John Crows, doubtless much contagion would arise, in consequence of the numerous dead carcasses of cattle to be seen lying in the pastures. These birds, however, soar aloft in every direction until a carcase is found, when multitudes descend, and commence devouring it. This company has been, not inappropriately, termed "*a coroner's inquest!*"—in allusion to the like assemblage of our own species over an accidentally deceased fellow-creature. Their utility is so great, that even the law protects the whole race, by affixing a fine of five pounds to the offence of shooting or otherwise destroying one of them.

It would greatly add to the comfort and safety of the inhabitants, were a severe penalty imposed on every proprietor neglecting to remove dead animals to a sufficient distance from the highways; as, in the present state of things, the olfactory nerves are not only seriously offended by the horrid effluvia emitted from putrid carcasses, but the neck is frequently endangered, by the sudden rising of perhaps fifty or sixty John Crows close to the road side, causing many a horse to set off at full gallop with the vehicle he is drawing.

From the general temperature of a tropical climate, it may be easily imagined that wild shrubs and flowers will greatly abound. So numerous, indeed, are these spontaneous effusions of nature, that the study, classification, and correct arrangement of such as we find in Jamaica, would furnish a never-failing source of amusement to the botanist. Even the universally admired *passion-flower* has its clear representation in the ruins and woods of that once flourishing island. An enchanting bouquet

might be culled from every hedge, embracing the greatest variety of painted beauties and odoriferous scents. Of course, every British hot-house plant there attains the utmost perfection in the open air, without care or culture.

The verandah fronts may boast an endless display of the richest specimens appertaining to the *creeping* genus. Honeysuckle, verbena, climatis, and jessamine, extending from side to side, promiscuously intermingle their delicate tendrils, and their mellifluous blossoms are varied by an occasional cluster of moss roses, fragrant in the highest degree. The parterres also; eminently conscious of their superior inhabitants, foster in their bosoms the famed accacia, the beautiful double dahlia, the exquisite tuberose, and the finely painted auricula of every hue and tint; besides a diversity of shrubs and other plants, tastily arranged, and often scientifically selected.

The temptation thus exhibited, cannot be resisted by the tiny, but marvellously elegant, "*humming bird*," who, while furnishing his own peculiar music, insinuates his tender proboscis, and extracts the saccharine nourishment from every gay floweret by turns. The variety of this little voluptuary is almost countless, and, therefore, beyond our limits to describe: 'tis enough to say the whole family is beautiful; but that particular species having the long feather projecting from each side of the tail is the most extraordinary. Their nests are great curiosities, from their diminutiveness and elegant structure.

Another bird of exquisite plumage also, frequents these Gardens of Paradise, called the "*banana bird*," by reason of its principally subsisting on the ripe

Mountain

banana. Its plumage is truly handsome, and composed of all colours; which, nevertheless, are so wonderfully blended, as to produce a most delightful effect. It charms the ear with a plaintive strain, although not deemed a songster of the first class.

This attribute is the chief boast of the nightingale, and richly does this bird merit the palm. The feathers of the nightingale are not remarkable for their beauty; but a stranger will be quite fascinated by his song, which greatly resembles the English bird of that name. He does not, however, reserve his treat for the nocturnal season; but, at all hours of the day, perches himself on a lofty twig, and sends forth a melodious strain to delight the senses of harmonious amateurs.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Militia: how composed—Medical Men—the Attorney: his Duties and necessary Qualifications—the Actions of an unconscientious Attorney laid open: his Epitaph—Supposed present Value of Properties, contrasted with estimated actual Value some years back—Depreciation of Stock, &c.—Bad Effects of the Long Credit System—Anecdote—Contents of a Store.

FROM the prominent part necessarily devolving on the militia force of the island during the late unfortunate rebellion, they claim our particular notice; and it becomes also expedient that the reader should be made fully acquainted with the mode of its formation, the description of individuals who compose it, and their precise duties, before he commences upon the narrative, in order that he may the better judge of the services performed.

By the island militia law of Jamaica, every white male inhabitant, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, must report himself to the colonel of the regiment, attached to the parish in which he resides, before three months elapse subsequent to his arrival, when he either receives a commission, or joins a company, according to circumstances. Having previously held a commission in the navy, army, or militia of Great Britain, entitles him to the same rank, provided he has not been deprived of it for misconduct. Officers actually on half-pay are also exempted, except in martial law, when all must serve, receiving their respective ranks. A medical certificate, proving personal incapacity, will of

course be admitted an excuse for non-attendance. Promotion goes by seniority. The flank companies are usually composed of whites; as are also, sometimes, one or two other companies.

In the Kingston and Spanish Town militia, some are *entirely black*, and some are *entirely brown*, companies; but, in the other militia regiments, the people of colour are attached to the coloured company mustering nearest to their residences, without reference to that particular distinction: every company musters once a month, and is inspected and drilled by its officers; once a quarter the whole regiment is assembled for the same purpose, by the colonel or other commandant; and there is also an annual inspection by the major-general of the district. Quarterly courts martial, and courts of inquiry, are invariably held, at which defaulters are brought forward and punished, by severe fines, for absence from, or neglect of, militia duty, and other offences. The adjutant keeps the roster; but the deputy-judge-advocate (under orders from the commanding officer) issues the warrants, which are served by the marshal of the regiment. Each captain prosecutes his own men, and proves the charges against them, by means of his non-commissioned officers. On the whole, the business is usually conducted in a very correct manner, although the delinquents are frequently obliged to submit to incarceration, by reason of their inability to pay the fines inflicted. The non-commissioned officers are generally made from the white population; but coloured people of good character often hold the rank, and perform the duties with great propriety. In the rebellion, this class was found particularly

serviceable. A surgeon and two or three assistants are commissioned to each regiment; but from the vast number of medical men resident in every parish, many more of that profession hold battalion rank also; consequently, there are few companies without a medical attendant, ready to act in that capacity, if required.

It will not be amiss here to notice the cause of this great influx of the Æsculapian fraternity. If the male juveniles of a family, not absolutely in business, amount to three in number, the parents have seemingly, of late years, fixed it as a rule, that law, physic, and divinity, *must*, as a matter of course, be their occupations. If above three, then the army and navy must furnish them with employment. The consequence of which is, that the large towns are amply provided with aspirants to the bench, and the country with candidates of the healing art. In divinity there is but little scope, from the numbers (although latterly considerably increased) absolutely required being much smaller than of the other professions. Should a medical man have sufficient interest to procure himself the appointment of "*doctor*" to a few properties, he has, at any rate, secured a livelihood, and is in a fair way to fortune by an increase of practice. The attorney, where no proprietor is resident, has this gift in his own hands; and if none of his own family have been bred to the profession, it is natural to suppose he will employ the gentleman most skilful and diligent, as the expence is invariably the same.

Should the property comprise less than one hundred negroes, the charge for medical attendance, per head, is six shillings and eight pence per annum;

if more, five shillings per head; but, no medicines are found by the practitioner, unless something, not already in the medicine chest, is absolutely indispensable; then he supplies, and charges for it. He also receives a doubloon for every operation he performs, such as setting a leg or arm, amputation, &c., and is expected to make at least one visit a week to the hospital, even should none be on the sick list. If, on the other hand, there are any cases requiring medical advice or attention, his duty is to attend as often as necessary. He must invariably hasten to the spot when sent for *express*, as, from the nature of the negro complaints, death may snatch the patient before the arrival of the doctor, should he procrastinate. In sickly seasons, they have no sinecure; but when the community is tolerably healthy, the medical man, who has extensive practice, generally appropriates different days to different districts, and, if possible, sleeps at home every night, lest he should be called for to an accident, or other particular case. One of these gentlemen, whose business was extensive and widely scattered, had the curiosity to mark down his daily rides for twelve months, and found that on an average, he had travelled at the rate of forty miles every day for that period. It is natural to suppose the cost of horse-flesh must be immense to one of such connections, and in this outlay much of the profit of his labour must be expended. To perform such journeys as those just alluded to, at least twenty horses and mules must be kept, which, on their alternate arrival at home, after some hours' hard riding through the intense heat of the day, are not unfrequently neglected by the groom, perhaps scarcely rubbed

down, and then turned into a scanty pasture to shift for themselves. The result of this conduct is often fatal to the animal. Of course, those of more confined practice, will only maintain a few horses, unless for the purpose of traffic, which is frequently the case. Indeed, almost every body amuses himself at times in horse dealing.

The designation of "*attorney*" has already often occurred, and will, perhaps, frequently again; consequently, it is better at once to inform the reader that the individual here alluded to, probably never was, or will be, a *member of the legal profession*.

Agent or representative, factor or deputy, would either of them prove a more appropriate term, as he is precisely in this capacity, acting for the proprietor or claimant by whom he is appointed. He receives a regular power of attorney, which must be duly recorded in the office of the island secretary, before he can commence his operations. He ought to be thoroughly skilled in the planting line, as regards every product of the island; also to be well acquainted with the characters, customs, and management of the negro race. His temper should be mild, his habits abstemious, his reputation unsullied, his heart proof against all temptations, (for much will he meet with to draw him from the strict path of honour and honesty,) and his mind bent solely on the advancement of his employer's interest.

However the appointment may have been disgraced by some individuals, certain it is, there have been, and still are, such men as above described. The situation is one of excessive anxiety to a good and conscientious man, and particularly during the crop time on a large estate, or a dry and sickly

season on a penn. His emoluments arise from the annual proceeds of the property, on which he receives six per cent.; consequently, should the sugar and rum exported realize £1,000, the attorney draws for £60. If from a penn, stock and wood should be disposed of, or hired labour furnished to the extent of £1,000 currency, the attorney charges, in his annual account current with the proprietor, the sum of £60 as his commission. And, if he derives no advantages, (but this is rare indeed) in various other ways under his own immediate controul, from the property he has the management of to the detriment of his employer, he certainly is not overpaid.

It has before been stated, that most lowland properties have their own fisherman and crabber, who are usually men advanced in years, and probably capable of no laborious duty; consequently, in alluding to the unjustifiable customs practised by some attorneys, the trifling circumstance of appropriating a daily supply of these luxuries to themselves, is by no means intended to form a part of the peccancies they are accused of, as may be suspected by some before whom this remark may come. There are many crimes of a far graver nature; but one instance of an unconscientious attorney may suffice.

Some years ago, a gentleman, who was a native of Jamaica, died in England, having just previous to his death inherited large possessions in that island; among other descriptions of property was one extensive penn, situate in a southern parish, comprising about 1,100 acres of land, and having attached to it upwards of three hundred slaves, and from seven to eight hundred head of stock of all

descriptions. From this gentleman's former knowledge of a certain individual resident in the same parish, whose name should appear, had he not long since paid the debt of nature, and was, doubtless, now receiving his merited reward: he had appointed him "*his attorney*," and being also in a very delicate state of health at the time, had nominated him besides, the "*trustee and guardian of his children*." The gentleman's wife did not survive her husband twelve months. The children were fostered by, and brought up under, the immediate care of their paternal uncle and his lady in England, (also left guardian,) and who in no instance permitted these four orphans to feel or suffer from the irreparable loss they had sustained, but proved themselves, in every sense of the word, the *best of parents*. A claim was set up in Jamaica for a share of the possessions, and resisted by the attorney, who threw the business into chancery, thereby screening his own evil actions, and causing, by his specious but false representations, only a most trifling amount to be remitted annually for the maintenance and education of the orphans. By the father's will, they were not to receive their property until the youngest son should attain his majority, when two of the young men repaired to the island, after nineteen year's minority, and experienced the utmost difficulty in obtaining from him even their bare lands and slaves; nor could they effect this object, without furnishing him with an unqualified "*release*" for all his actions, transactions, and intromissions, relative to their concerns, "*from the beginning of the world till the present time!*" Thus was the precious document framed!!! Under the principle that "*half*

a loaf is better than no bread," it was of course granted, and the minors became possessors of a skeleton patrimony. It was notorious throughout the parish, for all were able to judge of such commonplace matters, that the very minimum of net annual proceeds to be derived from such properties, by the most mediocre management, should have been two thousand pounds a year, clear of contingent expenses, and independent of the heavy law charges with which the attorney had saddled the estates, by opposing the claim of the other party, and which claim, being a just one, he acknowledged himself could have been bought off at one time for five thousand pounds. The will directed that all over-plus monies beyond the cost of education, &c., were to be vested in the British funds for the benefit of the children on their attaining majority. For the nineteen years of minority, the average remittance did not exceed three hundred pounds annually; so that, in fact, if bare justice had been done, at least sixteen hundred pounds a year was to be accounted for. Consequently, there ought to have remained, at any rate, thirty thousand four hundred pounds, to be handed over to the minors, in 1815, if due diligence had been used. Not one fraction did they receive, but a list of worthless debts which could never be collected, by reason of death or insolvency having overtaken most of the creditors, to the amount of more than three thousand pounds. Notwithstanding which, the minors were compelled, on taking possession, to pay to the relinquishing attorney between two and three hundred pounds currency of hard money, stated to be due to him from the properties in the accounts he had rendered

for the inspection of the master in chancery. It will appear extraordinary, and, perhaps, impossible, to the person unversed in such matters, that so large an amount *should* have been forthcoming, yet *was not*. It is, therefore, but proper to expose the chicanery and villainous management that had been resorted to. This obdurate Cræsus, for such he had become, was fully aware that his object was *to keep down the annual proceeds of the inheritance*. It has been said, that the principal property, that is, the one to which all the rest were mere dependencies, was a large penn, or farm, on which were bred great quantities of stock. On one occasion, when visiting the property for the express purpose of inspecting the stock, he remarked to the overseer "that, as the weather was rather dry in the lowlands generally, and the *young horned stock* might deteriorate, or even decrease, he would, *for the benefit of the property*, send two gentlemen to value them, and would then remove such as they valued to his mountain situation, where they would not be in such danger, and he would take the responsibility on himself, by paying for them; or else they should be forwarded to another mountain property in his neighbourhood, where young stock could be well maintained, and for which he was the attorney."

Let it be here remarked, that this honourable man, and faithful guardian, invariably employed the most illiterate beings as his overseers and book-keepers, because, being unable either to read or write, they could enter no transactions, and keep no accounts. In a few days, two of his own creatures of course arrived, and valued ninety-three heads of young steers, bulkins, and heifers, at £3

currency per head, which were at least worth £7 or £8 each at that period, having previously had their instructions. The young animals were consequently driven immediately to his place, and became the foundation of an immensely lucrative herd.

This blow alone was sufficient to ruin the pemm, for it necessarily cramped the sale of steers and fat cattle for many years to come. These, thus removed, had of course no substitutes of the same years, which caused a considerable decrease in the annual crop accounts ever afterwards, and *this was all he required!* He thus paid £279 for what, at a fair valuation, he ought to have paid at least £697; independent of the fact, that none but the most hardened villain could have committed an act by which the orphans' property was to be thus, in a measure, *annihilated*.

From any place, of which he was the manager, he supplied himself with domestics, free of charges, horses, mules, and waggons, whenever he wanted them for his own purposes. He would have many tons of logwood cut on each lowland property, and fustic on the mountain ones, which, when safely delivered at the wharf, he caused to be valued as above-mentioned. For this he gave credit to the respective properties, at the valuation prices; then shipped, or sold the wood again himself for at least double the amount.

Whenever the overseers killed mutton, pork, or veal, as is the custom every week or fortnight on some properties, it was a well understood thing *how much* was to be sent to this "excellent" attorney, so that no day passed without several

negro boys being seen riding up to his house: some laden with a quarter of mutton and a basket of crabs; some with a quarter of veal and a large dish of fish; some with half a lamb, and a lot of vegetables of a peculiarly fine sort, and raised with much labour, at the expence of some mountain property; some with an equal proportion of pork and a bag or wallet of turtle; some with a quantity of wild ducks, teal, or snipes, all of which it had taken a negro one day's labour to procure, and another to convey to the great man's residence. Waggon^s were constantly seen transporting *corn* for some of the attorneyships, for his own use; and *poultry* was considered a mere trifle, as it arrived wholesale. Thus did he live at no expence at home; and, when absent on his periodical migrations, each property subsisted himself and followers with the best, as long as he chose to honour it by a sojourn there.

Decency forbids a detail of his profligate habits while accomplishing his occasional progress through the properties under his charge; but, suffice it to say, his example was shameful.

Although he commenced his career only as a plantation medical attendant, it is credibly asserted that this man left behind him the enormous sum of £100,000 in the funds, and a fine penn in Jamaica; yet, such was the abhorrence in which his actions were held, that not more than two or three respectable inhabitants attended his remains to the grave, although he had held the first rank and offices in the parish: he lived despised, and died unmourned.

This is the true character, and a few, very few, of the actions, of one almost unprecedented rogue,

and merely related to show how much an attorney has in his power.

After his funeral, the following *just*, though not extremely harmonious epitaph, was handed about the parish, said to be the extemporaneous effusion of an orphan, who, with his family, had suffered severely from his villainies:—

“Widows and Orphans all rejoice,
Your scourge, old W ———, is gone;
Sing with light heart, and merry voice,
For Satan's got his own!”

It is not from respect to his memory that the wretch's name is withheld, as may readily be supposed; but from a regard to the feelings of those he has left behind, who had no hand in, or controul over, his vile actions. The reader is assured there are few who have reached his acme in wickedness.

The qualifications requisite for an efficient attorney have already been noticed; nor will they be deemed too great, when it is known that his power is almost absolute over the charge entrusted to him. The times, even in this point, are greatly altered, and men are much more conscientious than formerly; nevertheless, abuses still too frequently occur. To attempt fixing a precedent, by which to calculate the intrinsic value of properties at the present moment, were next to madness. It will, therefore, be deemed enough to show the sad depreciation that has occurred within the last few years, which may be easily ascertained, by noting, in a few instances, the difference of former valuations and late actual sales of the same properties, where such have taken place.

In the year 1817, a family, consisting of four persons, who had inherited some extensive possessions in the parish of St. Elizabeth, and on which there was a small incumbrance, with a view to a sale, appointed valuers, of the most respectable and intelligent class, to ascertain the intrinsic worth of these properties, who, on summing up the different amounts, found the sum total to be sixty-four thousand pounds currency. Circumstances subsequently arose, which materially altered the plans of the proprietors, and they decided on retaining them, dividing the annual net proceeds. We must presume they were well managed, as no inclination was evinced by any of the parties for a change, till 1830, when the same properties were advertized for sale, in the Jamaica papers, for many months, without any fixed price, and no application was made. They were even put up at the Auction Mart, in London, and *no purchaser came forward*: here, then, was a most pointed depreciation. In the same parish, a property, consisting of seventeen hundred acres of land, comprising wood, grass, and corn land, also underwood and Savannah, was to be sold in 1824, and the sum offered was five thousand pounds currency. The proprietor, considering it really worth six thousand pounds, and knowing the intending purchaser could scarcely do without, and could well afford to pay for the place, by reason of the advantages he had already derived from it, demanded five thousand five hundred pounds. While the negotiation was pending, the proprietor's health rendered it necessary for him to quit the country, and, on his return in 1829, was glad to accept of seventeen hundred pounds, viz. one pound per acre

and merely related to ~~for the property, in consequence of the im~~
~~was in his power.~~ ~~depreciation in West India property at the~~

After his funeral, the ~~for many miles from Kingston, a gen~~
in 1807, ~~and various~~ ~~and eight thousand pounds for a fine~~
that had been fairly ~~the~~ ~~extended, a few years pre~~
at forty thousand pounds. ~~the~~ ~~In Montego B~~

James's, a house was sold for four hundred p
in 1831, that had been purchased by the prop
only ten years previously, for two thousand p
In Black River, St. Elizabeth's, a house, an
adjoining, was sold for three hundred and fifty p
in 1832, that had, a few years previously, fe
eighteen hundred pounds. In 1831, (and ever s
fine planters' steers were selling at fifteen
sixteen pounds each, that in 1817 would readily
been taken off by the attorney for estates at thirt
pounds ten shillings, and thirty-five pounds
Mules were down to twenty pounds; and their
at the former period, was thirty-seven pound
shillings, and forty pounds. Horses suffered in
after the same ratio. The depreciation in
has already been noticed; and it only remai
add, that the labour of able people could now b
at one shilling and eight-pence a day, which,
before, was under, on an average, less than d
hat sum. Good tradesmen, such as masons,

penters, &c. could be hired at twenty pounds a
and the common price, previously, was forty po
In short, such was the dreadfully depressed st
all things, that even many of the store-keepers fi
in Kingston particularly, in consequence of the
impossibility of collecting their outstanding d
because their customers could not actually prc
the money to meet the public demands against t

It is one of the evils of that extensive credit system in Jamaica. Under the impression that payment will not be made for months, or even years, the store-keeper puts an enormous profit on his goods; should the customer die in the interim, which is much more than probable, the seller may make up his mind to five shillings in the pound, or less; but should he survive till the usual period of annual payment, in very many instances, "it is not quite convenient, and the account must run on." The following will shew the bad effects of long credit. An old gentleman, moving in the first society, but who had by some means run out both his means and credit, one day entered the store where he usually dealt, and inquired for some articles he wanted. The store-keeper, in a modest manner, reminded him of his long overdue account, and wished to know by what means he proposed its liquidation, stating, that no further supplies could be furnished till something satisfactory was done. "Oh!" said he, "don't make yourself uneasy, I'll settle it immediately. You keep bond-stamps; let me have one for the proper sum." He then ascertained the exact amount of balance due by himself to the store, filled up the bond, and handed it to the store-keeper with perfect composure, saying "*There, thank God, that debt's paid.*" It is, perhaps, needless to remark, that the bond was not taken up by him.

Another individual, had, some weeks previously, entered a retail store, and purchased a piece of Irish linen at an exorbitant price. On his friends' remarking, that the linen was excessively dear, "Perhaps so," said he, "but it will be excessively cheap, before I pay for it." To a person lately

arrived from England, the inspection of a "*store*," particularly in the country parts, would afford infinite amusement. There is scarcely an article belonging to any department, that is not to be found in one of these emporiums; or on the wharfs: hats and hammers; trinkets and tea-pots; stationery and saddles; rum, sugar, and salt; toys and tin-pans; mouse-traps and mill-stones; gloves and goblets; wines, corn, and honey; salt beef and pork; hosiery and medicines; wood, coals, and tar; tea, coffee, and tools of every description; coats, spices, and ladies' bonnets, &c. &c.; in short, the question should not be, *What* do they contain? but on the contrary, *What* do they not contain? so extensive is the assortment, even in stores of the most moderate description.

CHAPTER IX.

*Absentee Proprietor—An Attorney's visit to a Property—
Supplies—Bills of Exchange—Roads and Road-making—
Effects of the prevailing System—Gates across the Roads—
Land Surveyors, their mode of Procedure in Cases of
resurvey, &c. — Anecdote — Action brought to Trial—
Hardships of the Possession Law.*

ON a fair calculation, the remark has frequently been made, that out of every *hundred* properties, of all descriptions, throughout the island of Jamaica, *seventy* are managed by attorneys or deputies. Surely, then, it cannot be uninteresting to those who have long been absentees, and are likely to continue so, that a slight sketch of proceedings should be laid before them; for, let an attorney be ever so communicative and conscientious, it is not possible, or expedient, for him to fill up his correspondence with *minutiæ*. Many of these gentlemen have hundreds of letters to write by every packet to their constituents, merchants, and others, which are only *copied* by their clerks, and the duplicates prepared in readiness, for the subsequent packet, or a vessel about to sail from the nearest port. An attorney who has many properties under his charge, and particularly if they are situated in different parishes remote from each other, has quite enough to do, if he make a periodical visit to the most distant once a month, in order that he may report the state of things to the absentee proprietor. Such as are nearer, of course, have the advantage of his repeated inspection; but he is careful to place his most trusty and intelligent

overseers on those he has the least frequent opportunity of visiting. On his arrival, he minutely examines into every thing, listens to complaints or appeals from the negroes, observes, with a scrutinizing eye, the state of cultivation, the mode of management, and inquires into the discipline adopted by his deputy; also makes such changes as he deems requisite, and gives directions for the future. Should any glaring remissness or impropriety appear on the part of the overseer, another is immediately sent to take charge, and the culprit removed. The plantation and hospital books are carefully examined, in order that he may the better judge, whether or not the property is deriving benefit from the overseer's plans and operations; also, if the medical man is regular in his visits, and attentive to the sick. If it is a sugar estate, and the mill about, the *sample* undergoes the strictest scrutiny; and if a *plantation*, the *coffee* or *ginger* is, in like manner, closely inspected. If a *penn*, the *cattle* are invariably collected for the same purpose, and the attorney generally rides through all the pastures to witness their condition, and accompanies the overseer to each gang of negroes at their work, in order to afford them the opportunity of complaining to him, should they feel themselves aggrieved by the treatment of the overseer. He also makes a point of being personally present at the annual distribution of clothing to the negroes, which policy ensures the regular supply to each, without partiality, favour, or affection; unless, in some very particular cases, he leaves the appointment of book-keepers in the hands of his respective overseers, which is certainly prudent, as it prevents jealousy, and furnishes the overseer with a proper authority

over those of the inferior grade. He is, consequently, answerable to the attorney, should he make an impolitic appointment. The white carpenter on an estate, is, of course, nominated by the attorney; as is also the medical attendant. All accounts against each property must be first attested by the overseer before presented to the attorney for payment, thereby preventing fraud. By the packet sailing from Jamaica to England, at the latter end of August or beginning of September, the attorney furnishes the proprietor, (or merchant, if so directed,) with a list of such supplies, clothing, &c. as will be required on the property for the use of the following year; thus affording time for all to be procured, packed, and forwarded by the vessels usually leaving England about November, and arriving in the West Indies about Christmas. Some proprietors, resident in England, purchase and forward these themselves; but the general practice is, to leave the whole in the hands of the merchant, to whom the crop is annually shipped, who keeps a running account with the proprietor, at home or elsewhere. At this period, also, (August,) the attorney draws his bills on the proprietor, or his merchant, as the arrangement may be, for the amount of balance due to him in account current, for contingencies paid and expences defrayed, during the last year. The premium varies from ten to twenty-five per cent.; but the average of the last few years has been twenty per cent. They are drawn in triplicate; but the third, of exchange, seldom leaves the island in these peaceable times.

Although some resident proprietors are excellent attorneys, the opinion greatly prevails *out of the island*, that what is called a "large attorney," that

is, one holding several properties, is the most likely person to make a *sure return* and *regular annual remittances*, particularly in the case of a penn; because, having sugar estates also under his management, he has, within his own controul, *that vent* for the surplus steers and mules annually bred in the place, which another individual, not so circumstanced, cannot possibly possess. At the first view, this reasoning may appear conclusive; but it is well known in the island, that if a man is famed for a breed of good, strong, hardy stock on his penn, they will never lie on hand, as every honest attorney will seek and purchase the best cattle he can find for his constituent, at the market-price, rather than procure inferior animals for which he must pay the same.

The absentee should appoint the *best* and *most intelligent* man, rather than a *large* attorney, if he does but possess strict integrity, as some represent properties so distant, that the *owners seldom see them*.

From the mountainous nature of the island, it may be presumed that the roads are not of the *best* description throughout the country. Indeed, the system of road-making pursued in almost every parish is truly ridiculous; for, instead of raising a certain sum annually, erecting turnpikes, and forming the roads, a very contrary plan is adopted; the *road-tax* is laid by the vestry, at its annual road meeting, and generally amounts to two days' labour for each negro. For instance, a place on which twenty negroes are located, would be charged with five pounds currency, for road tax, at the rate of two shillings and sixpence a day, being forty days labour. *Way-wardens* are nominated by the vestry, whose duty is

to call upon each owner for his proportion of labour at a certain period of the year, when he may send as many as he pleases, but must make up the amount of his road allotment tax. The owner may, however, refuse or neglect to turn out his people; but then he must pay the amount in money, with his other taxes, in August. This is, nevertheless, rarely practised; for, besides its being a kind of playtime for the negroes, every person finds it hard enough to muster money for his parochial and public taxes, without adding that of the road to the amount; he, consequently, prefers sending a proportion of his negroes to work out the amount. Whether the way-warden is proprietor, or overseer, it is seldom that he can be spared from the property to overlook the workers on the road, for perhaps a week together: he, therefore, most frequently delegates his authority to a book-keeper, almost invariably quite ignorant of that kind of labour, but previously, and occasionally while on the road, furnishing him with instructions how to proceed. It is, notwithstanding, most ludicrous to witness the operations of the assemblage. Perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred slaves, of all colours and sizes, are engaged. In a deep cavity, of a somewhat crumbling rock, near the road-side, which they term a "*marl hole*," are seen, probably, from ten to twenty men, with heavy hoes, keeping time to a tune that is chaunted by the whole, dashing their instruments against the almost impenetrable substance, with but little effect. After a time, what little is obtained they draw back, and, stepping forward again, proceed to make another attack, while a gang of women or children fill their small bowls, or bits of baskets, with the precious treasure, and, walking

in rows, convey it to some particular spot, that has been long excavated by heavy cart-wheels and the gushing mountain torrent, if on the side of a hill, or near a steep place, when, under the especial direction of the driver, they discharge their pigmy loads and return for more: of course, the first severe rains wash all away again, and leave the same cavity.

At another spot we find, perhaps, a dozen or twenty able hands merrily employed in digging out, with their hoes, the *roadside guttering*, that has been choked by the dirt being washed into it; the superfluous material of which they again replace, by filling bowls or baskets, in its former situation in the middle of the road, and which the first heavy shower causes once more to be distributed in unequal proportions, between the lately excavated drains on each side.

When the land is not very valuable, or of much consequence, some way-warden, anxious to make the most of his brief authority, and demonstrate what he considers to be his skill in road-making, may be seen busily employed in turning the road out of its former course, in order to avoid a piece of rock, or a slight declivity; by which he is, in fact, making a most awkward turn, or elbow, perceptible to all but himself, and subsequently considered so unwarrantable and inconvenient, that his successor deems it expedient, the following year, to bring back the road to its former line, although the new one has been effected at double the expence and labour the original would have cost.

Under these circumstances, it cannot be supposed that good roads are a prominent feature in the face of the country. In the immediate vicinity of the

large towns, more eligible plans are adopted, and the roads, in some instances, are extremely good.

A terrible nuisance exists in some parts, which is caused by gates being placed across the public roads by proprietors of properties, to prevent the stock from rambling from one pasture to another. According to the strict letter of the law, every individual who places a gate for his own convenience across a public road, is bound to keep a watchman, or woman, constantly there, to open and shut it as required. In most cases, a comfortable thatched house is erected by the proprietor, and a neat small garden enclosed and attached. A negro of either sex, somewhat advanced in years, or otherwise incapable of much labour, is stationed at the gate with all necessary injunctions; and, in order to prevent excuse for absence, a weekly allowance of provisions is furnished to the person so stationed, or else another is sent to relieve him, while he takes the days to himself allowed by law. So disobedient and negligent are some, that neither threats nor rewards will induce them to refrain from leaving the post, by which delinquency travellers are put to serious inconvenience. It is by no means uncommon for a watchman to fall so fast asleep in his house, that the loudest and most incessant call from a passenger will not awake him; the gentleman, then considering him absent, and being unable to leave his horse for the purpose of searching for the supposed absentee, is compelled to alight from his gig, (his servant most likely being far behind, as is their usual custom,) and effect his advance the best way he can. Sometimes the negro is actually away from his post; and, to the detriment of the unoffending master, the exasperated traveller leaves the gate standing wide open.

In the particular district where lies the scene of action of the late rebellion, the roads are through an uncommonly uneven country, thickly wooded, and abounding in dangerous precipices, deep ravines, and high mountains on every side. The passages are cut, so as to preserve the level pretty well, along the sides of the hills, to the width of from sixteen to twenty feet, where it is possible; but, in many cases, they are not more than twelve feet wide, so that a person driving a horse, *not very temperate*, is many times in imminent danger of his life before he completes his journey. On one side there frequently appears an inaccessible rocky mountain, clothed to the road with trees and underwood; on the other, a yawning abyss.

This certainly was the kind of country most appropriate for the machinations of the negro rebel, and was well chosen in most other respects. From the description already given of the manner in which the road-tax is worked out, it will readily be conceived that no very great improvement is annually made on these naturally shelving roads, as immense rocks require constantly to be removed by blasting, which occupies a great portion of the labour that would otherwise be expended in widening the passage and hardening the surface. Much blame is attached to the surveyors in former days, who, either from ignorance or indolence, did not avail themselves of the most eligible tracks. As a proof that this assertion is correct, there is scarcely a road vestry, (which occurs once a year,) without an application for a new road through some district or other, which is to shorten the distance and avoid declivities. While on the subject of surveyors, the reader may

as well be here made acquainted with the operations of that seemingly indispensable class of society; although the less he has to do with them, and their coadjutors of the legal tribe, *the better for his pocket.*

On sugar estates, as the cane-holes are frequently dug by what is called "*a jobber,*" who undertakes to perform the work with his own people at a stipulated sum per acre, if the portion agreed for has not previously been measured, the surveyor must be employed to ascertain the extent before the bill can be discharged. It is, however, sometimes contracted for at a certain sum for every hundred cane-holes.

All surveying is performed in Jamaica by the chain and theodolite. The surveyor arrives, runs the piece of land, furnishes the diagram, and it must be of trifling extent, if his charge does not amount to a doubloon. But the work in which these gentlemen most luxuriate, is when land is to be surveyed, from which the surrounding neighbours have either wilfully, or through inadvertence, added a slice of the original patent to their own adjoining possessions. On such occasions, let not the proprietor of the land, proposed to be ascertained by re-survey, expect to be borne harmless; even if he is willing to relinquish the trespasses, and rest satisfied with whatever remains of his rightful property, neither surveyor nor lawyer can listen to this.

But, to commence the statement of difficulties: The land we presume to be situate in any parish distant from Spanish Town, because *there* the claim is almost sure to be tried. The surveyor employs the lawyer to search for, and take out of the Island Secretary's Office, the diagram of a

certain patent of, say three hundred acres. In former days this was the usual patent ; although, on re-survey, some of them run two or three times that extent. If more runs than one are required, so much the better, as then the grist increases thick and threefold. After considerable time and great trouble, the clerk finds the patent duly recorded, and the surveyor is furnished with all its buttings and bindings in the most correct manner. Now the surveyor searches the most ancient plans in the possession of the parish in which the patent lies, ascertains, to a nicety, what are the adjoining properties, and how they are called upon this patent, *which* is the *senior* one, and *what* likely *encroachments* have been made. The greater number of intrusions, the more work for himself, consequently the more lucrative the job. Having completed these preliminaries, he writes out notices of a re-surveying to every party concerned, and either causes them to be personally served on each, for which he charges a fine sum, or transmits them for that purpose to the proprietor, who, probably, accomplishes this necessary form in a more economical way, through the means of some one or more of the white people in his own employ; the notice of re-survey must also be published for a certain time in the county paper. All parties having taken up their quarters at the houses of friends and acquaintances in the immediate neighbourhood, on the preceding day, are ready for the conflict about to ensue; and an event of this nature, when the claim is of old standing, creates some anxiety, and much curiosity prevails.

On one occasion, the following *jeu d'esprit*

elicited considerable merriment. A jocose and witty gentleman, formerly resident in the parish of Manchester, having invited to his house the whole of a party engaged in surveying some lands in his neighbourhood, was frequently pressed by one of his friends then present *to order in the dinner*, stating that all were extremely hungry; but the worthy host always gave some excuse for non-compliance. At length his friend said, "My good fellow! I know your usual punctuality, and am quite aware that it is now full half an hour beyond your accustomed time: surely some accident must have befallen your cook, or your dinner." "Neither one nor the other," was the reply; "but as you *must* know the cause of delay, I will inform you. Among our guests to-day there are no less than *three surveyors*. Look around the room, and you will perceive that *one* of them has not yet completed his toilet. The moment he enters, dinner will be announced, for I always like these gentlemen to "*stretch and set together!!!*"

For the information of some readers, it must be explained, that as soon as the first negro draws the chain to its extent, he is checked by the hindmost one, who calls out "*stretch and set.*" The foremost then sticks a peg into the ground, and answers "*down;*" when he proceeds again to draw the chain, till checked by his companion as before, and so on till completed.

The day appointed arrives. The employer must furnish from eight to ten negroes: some to cut the bushes, two to stretch the chain, one to carry prog and water, and one the theodolite. Should the land have been unoccupied for some years, or never culti-

vated, there can be no doubt but *some trespasser* will be found on it, and this will soon be known by the number of people assembled at the starting point, awaiting the surveyor's arrival. All things being prepared, the chain proceeds until it reaches the first trespass, when it is lifted by the person who conceives it is about to pass through a part of his rights. The surveyor now informs his employer, who makes a point of being present, if possible, that he must choose his alternative, either to resign whatever quantity is claimed by the individual who raised the chain, or commence an action of ejectment against him for its recovery. Sometimes, however, the trespass, if of trifling extent, is compromised on the spot, and all future litigation, inconvenience, and expence, avoided: in this first instance, we will conclude it is so. For the clear elucidation of the subject and proceedings, the chain again proceeds, and, after a certain distance, is once more taken up by another adjoining proprietor, who having, perhaps, purchased the property he holds, including the twenty, thirty, forty, or more acres, of the next patent, and received possession of it from the seller, without the knowledge of the present employer, will, on no account, either permit the chain to proceed, or consent to a compromise, for what he deems his undoubted and legal right. All now is caution: not a step further does the surveyor dare to stretch his chain, unless his employer chooses to admit this person's claim; and then the chain must travel, according to the lines pointed out by the supposed trespasser. If, however, he is once induced to relinquish the lines laid down by his own office-

plan, he will find plenty of slices taken off his original patent. Such an act would be madness; and he finds himself compelled to adopt the other alternative. This puts an end to the survey at present. His surveyor is immediately instructed to issue an ejectment, and to apply to the Court for an order, authorising the surveyor to traverse the lands, so that he may ascertain the *extent of the trespass* in dispute, and also inform himself of any others that may exist. After innumerable obstacles and much delay, notice of the action is duly served, but sometimes with considerable inconvenience, as the parties invariably give each other as much trouble as possible. According to law, one notice must be served on the supposed trespasser; one placed on some conspicuous part of the trespass, *on a tree*, if possible; and another kept to prove the service. The order of court being granted, and the necessary traverses made by the surveyor, he probably finds that this proprietor's patent of three hundred acres, would be reduced to one-half that extent, were he to permit the surrounding encroachments.

A surveyor is appointed on the other side, and a day fixed for the two to make out separate reports at the foot of an immense diagram, shewing the exact situation of the patent claimed, including all the trespasses distinctly, but differently coloured, and around which the whole of the adjacent and adjoining patents are delineated. Three of these expensive documents are always necessary: one for the court, one for the counsel, and one for the jury; the original sometimes cost seventy or eighty pounds currency, including its incidental expences. It

almost invariably happens that each surveyor takes his fixing from a different spot, and by this means one of them will make it appear that the land claimed *does not lie within many miles of the place specified by the other*. There are, besides this, *slips* of the different patents that comprise the whole extent of the neighbourhood, for many miles round, to be obtained out of the secretary's office; all of which must accord with the general scheme, and there must be three sets of them. The right adjustment of these pieces of paper is called "*fixing the plats*." It matters not how numerous these *slips* may be, but five shillings is charged for each of the originals, and two shillings and sixpence each for every copy. When all is ready, notices of trial are served on all the parties concerned. The plaintiff, of course, extremely anxious to bring the affair to a speedy conclusion, uses every exertion, and spares no expence, to carry up his witnesses to the court in Spanish Town, where the ejectment cause is to be tried. With the subpoena to each witness, he must hand to him, at the same time, two ryals (about one shilling and three-pence currency) *as service money*, and one shilling per mile for whatever distance it may be from his (the witness's) residence to the grand court; and lest from poverty, or any other cause, the plaintiff should fear an inclination on the part of any witness to avoid the journey, he will at once supply him with a conveyance. No one can imagine the labour endured by the plaintiff, when it becomes necessary for him act as "*whipper-in to the witnesses*:" after, perhaps, broiling and fretting in Spanish Town all the early days of the court, and using innumerable enticements to keep the witnesses in good humour,

the morning arrives on which the case is to be tried. The attorney is deeply engaged with the barrister who is to conduct the cause, and the plaintiff finds it his indispensable duty to collect the witnesses, and keep them in court until called for. The court is now crowded, and, of course, excessively hot. Some of the witnesses having probably journeyed far the same morning, or paid too much court to the jolly god on their arrival the preceding night, feel much inclined for frequent potations of the limpid stream, and clandestinely quit the court "*to cool their coppers.*" The plaintiff, on hearing of the absence of a witness, immediately goes in pursuit, and, after traversing the greater part, perhaps, of Spanish Town, through a broiling sun, discovers the delinquent enjoying a "*cool tankard.*" This may occur more than once before the trial commences.

At length the awful moment approaches: the name of the suit is called, and all is anxiety, when the defendant's counsel not unfrequently rises and reads to the court an "*affidavit of materiality,*" as it is called, stating the unavoidable absence of a most *material* witness on their side, and praying the postponement of the hearing until the next court. It is invariably granted; and the plaintiff has gone through all the fatigue, anxiety, and expence, for such a result.

In former days, this kind of proceeding could be practised, until the *fifth* court from the calling on of the suit; but, a few years ago, the late Chief Justice Scarlett established the rule of court, that if an action in ejectment was not brought to trial at the *third* court, it should be discontinued. The plaintiff can, certainly, if he chooses, postpone it himself, at the second court, by a similar affidavit,

or a sick certificate, duly attested by a medical practitioner, and then it *must* come on next time; but he seldom wishes procrastination, and is, of course, desirous to avoid unnecessary expences.

Granting, then, that the action has been inevitably delayed till the third court, the parties now meet for the first time in battle array; all their forces mustered, and every manœuvre practised to gain information as to the probable result: this is called "*ear-wiggling*." The grand court seldom lasts more than four or five days at the farthest; and the contending parties are kept in constant uncertainty as to the identical day on which their fate will be decided, until it arrives.

When the trial actually commences, should there be no flaws or irregularities by which the defendant may procure its discontinuance in *toto*, all proceeds with becoming regularity, and great ingenuity is sometimes displayed by the barristers in their addresses to the court and jury. The examination of witnesses, however, is at times truly ludicrous, and causes a relaxation even in the usual rigidity of muscle preserved by the judges themselves.

An action in ejectment is *always* an interesting case, as sometimes so much depends on a most trifling circumstance. Many actions have been gained by the trick of postponing till the last court, as, during the intervals, perhaps the only individual (often extremely aged) who could have proved the possession in the plaintiff within the twenty years required by law, had been gathered to his fathers. In these actions, however, there are many anomalies, and various inconsistencies: among others, it is certainly a hardship, that a person possessing three patents of uncultivated woodland, containing

three hundred acres each, lying line and line with one another, and exactly in the form of three playing cards placed alongside of each other, should not be considered as in the possession of the other two, because he had only placed his settlement, or possession-house, on the end of one of the three; notwithstanding he had a regular road or path from one end of the land to the other, by which the occupier of his possession-house conveyed to market all the provisions he raised on the *outside* patent.

Shortly previous to the death of Chief Justice Jackson, this unprecedented case was established by him, and a gentleman, the undoubted owner of the lands, lost a most expensive action, because his father's attorney had not deemed it necessary to occupy each respective patent.

It also requires amendment, that if a determined rogue chooses to plant himself in the midst of a tract of woodland, where his habitation can remain unknown to all but those he intends as his future witnesses of possession, for the space of seven years, and obtains a written conveyance, called "*a title*," from one of these brother villains, who has no shadow of claim himself, he *cannot be expelled*, provided this wrongful instrument has been placed on record for the space of seven years.

Again, should a similar scoundrel settle himself in an unfrequented spot, where his trespass may remain unnoticed, *without even the form of a title*, his possession alone gives him a *perfect* title, if he can prove a residence on the land for the space of twenty years, to the exclusion of the right owner, although the trespass has always been utterly unknown to him.

CHAPTER X.

Harbours—Outports—Ventures of the Merchant Captain—Disorderly-houses in Kingston — The Press — How conducted—Expences of Newspapers and mode of Transmission — Periodicals—Merchants' Penns—Their Pride of Equipage — The Jews, their Establishments — The Current Coin—Port Royal Street — Hawkers — Medical Men—Country-built Vehicles—Taverns on the Road—Fare and Accommodation to be expected—Charges.

THE harbours in the island of Jamaica (in general) are tolerably secure; those of Port Royal and Kingston are well sheltered, and considered the most free from danger. That of Montego Bay, and a few more on the north side, are also pretty safe; but none, excepting Kingston, are what may be termed perfectly protected. To Kingston, the grand mart, vessels are arriving all the year round; but to the out-ports they commence making their appearance about December, and the harbours are all clear again by about August; many of the regular traders making two voyages in the interim. The government packets, sailing from Falmouth (England) at the commencement of each month, and the middle packets, sailing about the fifteenth, arrive, in due course, at Port Royal, in about five weeks from the actual day of departure. They formerly returned, the first after three weeks' sojourn in Jamaica; and the latter, after about twenty-four hours, but by a different route. The arrangement, however, is now much altered, and excessively inconvenient to the inhabitants, particularly to the mercantile classes;

as the regular packets remain only four or five days in the island, merely to await the return of an express post from the West End. All the men-of-war and packets anchor at Port Royal; but the merchant vessels run up to Kingston harbour, and draw in alongside of the wharfs. Although Kingston has already been noticed, it now comes again partially under our view, and we must say this city is the emporium and grand receptacle of every species of merchandize, carrying on a great commerce with America, as well as Great Britain and the Spanish Main. It cannot be denied, that, in the country parts, the residents are at a loss for numerous articles at times; but in Kingston never. There are innumerable stores, (or rather warehouses,) well supplied with every requisite, and, for *money*, almost any thing can be procured, even "*ice*." It has, however, before been mentioned, that the system of credit has reached such a pitch, that prices are commonly beyond any thing the reader could imagine. Perhaps, before we proceed, it is as well to state, that there are few towns situated elsewhere than on the coast on all sides of the island, consequently almost every town is a sea-port.

Kingston and Spanish Towns having been already described, we now proceed slightly to notice the out-ports. In fixing the period of arrival for the merchant vessels for December, it is not to be supposed that a straggler does not sometimes promiscuously drop in: his arrival is welcomed with "*joy unspeakable*;" for although the inhabitants can procure their beef, fish, and other luxuries; also possess their flocks of sheep, herds of swine, yards of poultry, and numerous other conveniences, and even

delicacies, the arrival of British potatoes, salt herrings, hams, tongues, cheese, tripe, and bacon, occasionally, is hailed with infinite joy; and the captains who first appear, will find an excellent and certain market for whatever they have speculated in. The articles above specified form the principal stock of a mercantile captain's venture, but many extend their trade still further. Brandy, hollands, biscuits, wood-hoops, coals, deal boards, boots, shoes, wearing apparel, millinery, and even jewellery, often form a part of their private speculations, and for which they frequently find ample recompence in the market. If money is not to be procured, produce, or even dye or hard woods, are an eligible payment; for it is, indeed, rare that the vessels are fully loaded, and the captains can always find room for a few casks of coffee, &c., or tons of wood, they here receive in payment of their own speculation. They are, in general, liberal and obliging men, bearing good characters; and, from the friendly intercourse subsisting between them and the inhabitants, probably originating in some having already been their passengers, and some intending to be so, a kind of cordiality exists that is beneficial to both parties. To the captain of a merchant vessel arriving in Jamaica, with good introduction, the contrast is immense, as regards his treatment, to what he experiences in England, where he seems scarcely known. In Jamaica, he is even a welcome guest, kindly received, and hospitably entertained; nor does he refuse the performance of any little commission in England, with which he may be entrusted by the warm-hearted friends who thus render his stay in Jamaica more a pleasure than a toil, as it otherwise would prove. Should he not

be so fortunate as to have disposed of all his commodities on his departure, he either leaves it to be sold on commission by a mercantile acquaintance, or rids himself of it wholesale, by making a trifling sacrifice, which his former sales will usually well admit of. Taking all the ports throughout the island, perhaps January may be fixed as the month in which the majority of vessels arrive. At this period it is, indeed, a busy scene from day-break till sun-set. Waggon's are seen bringing produce to the wharfs, and returning with the estates' supplies, negro clothing, &c. &c. Boats are constantly flying about the harbours, and at the out-ports, the conche-shell and negro song are heard for miles up the stream, (for few are without a river,) ere they reach the wharf at which the contents of their *bungay*, (an immense flat-bottomed boat) are to be delivered. Ships' boats are also plying in every direction, loaded with casks of sugar, rum, coffee, &c., others with logwood, fustic or ebony, for dunnage, also bags of pimento, &c.

To witness these scenes, a stranger newly arrived would conceive the inhabitants of all classes, but particularly the slaves, to be the happiest in the world; for joy and hilarity are visible in the countenance of all we meet, and every kind of work seems transformed into pleasure. According as the crops are forwarded, so the vessels depart; and some few that are destined to try the second voyage, during the season, manage to sail early in March, so as to return to Jamaica at the latter end of June, or beginning of July. Shipping employs a great number of negroes in discharging and receiving their cargoes, as stowing the hold in so oppressively hot a

climate is sadly trying to the white sailor. It is natural to suppose that where rum is so cheap, occasional cases of intoxication will occur; but, taking all things into consideration, the conduct of the British tar, even under such temptation, is far from being licentious. The laws are strict, the commanders very circumspect, and thus the crews remain orderly. Since, however, at the port of Kingston, scarcely a day passes without some arrivals and departures, it is not a matter of surprise that the city is sometimes the scene of a little brawling between the sailors and negroes. In fact, numbers of free negroes have fixed themselves in different parts of the city, and particularly about the suburbs, where they keep very disorderly houses, principally for the reception and entertainment of sailors. In these, all kinds of drunkenness and debauchery are practised; but it is to be hoped that, under the new system, such nuisances will be abated, if not entirely removed.

With one or two exceptions, all newspapers are published in the principal towns, and the press is pretty fairly conducted, having, as is always the case, newspapers of different politics well edited. *The Kingston Chronicle*, by Mr. Struper; and *the Jamaica Courant*, by Mr. Bruce, take the lead as daily papers, and are hotly, sometimes intemperately, opposed to each other. An inferior publication, under the title of *The Watchman*, came out in 1831, edited by persons of colour; but, from the virulence and indecency with which it attacked the respectable part of the community, it received but little patronage. Since the rebellion, *The Isonomist*, by Mr. Beaumont, has appeared. From the talents of its editor, the publication soon got into wide circulation;

but, as those talents were not always appropriated to the most beneficial and edifying purposes, it frequently occurred that paragraphs were exceptionable, and many discontinued it. *The Royal*, and *Saint Jago de la Vega, Gazettes*, by Mr. Aillman and Mr. Lunan, are most respectably edited, and furnish authentic intelligence; they are, however, weekly papers. *The Cornwall Chronicle*, published at Montego Bay, and conducted by Mr. Holmes, stands high in public estimation for the correctness of its local information; and, judging from the circumstance of its having obtained a very extensive circulation, must be considered a meritorious journal. The price of a paper is about five pounds currency per annum, and are forwarded by the weekly post to all parts of the island; consequently, there are few people who do not indulge in one or other of the newspapers. The mail bags leave Kingston post-office during the afternoon of Saturday, at different hours. The windward post is first dispatched, then that of the north-side, and, lastly, the one for the south-side. Each is conveyed by a negro mounted on a mule, leading another mule, on which is affixed the mail-bags: unless when an accident occurs, from negligence in properly fixing the bags, the conveyance is tolerably expeditious, and pretty regular. But during the heavy seasons (rains) the post is frequently detained from the Rio Minho (dry river) being impassable, sometimes for days together, and there has never been a bridge thrown over it. No delivery of letters takes place in the country; consequently, whatever may be the distance, every individual is compelled to send to the post-office for his letters, &c. The charge is seven-

liberal and gentlemanly feeling predominate during the intercourse. They carry on the principal part of the Spanish trade; and some of the firms also do a great deal of business with the Americans.

The current coin, is either the *Spanish* or the *Columbian* doubloon, pistole, half-pistole and dollar, in gold. The dollar, half-dollar, quarter-dollar, (or macaroni;) ten pence, bit (or royal,) and five-pence, in silver; copper is never seen. There being no bank, of course there is no paper-money, with the exception of island checks, and drafts on Kingston merchants, and other responsible individuals, which are common payments in the country parts, and denominated "*town orders*." Good bills of exchange on Great Britain have averaged the high premium of twenty per cent. for the last fifteen years.

Although the prices of goods may at first appear exorbitant, it is a notorious fact that, at times, articles may be procured considerably cheaper than they can be imported, particularly when a firm is closing sales, or winding up consignments.

It has been jocosely said of the Jews, that they will "*rather lose by the sale of an article, than lose the chance of making a sale!*" because they calculate on making it up the next dealing.

All who have been at Kingston will know who are the inhabitants of Port Royal Street; and those who have not, must be informed that this street is extensive, reaching completely along one portion of the harbour, where all the most extensive wharfs are situated, at the back of one range of the houses in Port Royal Street. Jews and christians indiscriminately occupy stores in this mercantile part of Kingston; and, indeed, many who have removed

steps into his chaise, and either drives, or is driven by his boy, out to his penn, where he finds the family awaiting his arrival. After a comfortable change of apparel, his enjoyment commences, very probably with visitors; and, after a meal genteelly served, the evening is spent according to his station in society and circumstances. On the morrow, after breakfast, he again proceeds to his store, by the same conveyance, and reaches it by ten o'clock. There is nothing in which the merchants so much pride themselves as their equipages: a handsome vehicle of the latest fashion, with a spirited horse of fine figure and good action, well groomed and elegantly caparisoned, seems the acme of their ambition. The knowing manner in which he drives up to his premises, the livery of his valet, even the grace with which he springs from his cabriolet, are particularly noticed by his neighbours.

Here we must allow that our brethren of the Hebrew nation greatly eclipse the christians in taste, splendour, ingenuity, and management. The truth is, they take a pride in doing so, and try it at any expence. In people of this persuasion Kingston abounds; and many are not only wealthy, but highly respected members of society. It is not long since a bill was passed in the house of assembly, much to the credit of the members, conceding to the Jews all the privileges enjoyed by the christian community, and all must acknowledge that the boon was not misapplied. Some of their establishments are very splendid, both as regards the private residence, and the public place of business; and although a christian certainly must be clever to make *an advantageous dealing with a Jew*, yet he will find the

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to a much finer street and situation, have deemed it expedient to return, from the apparently simple circumstance, that the Spaniards, or other traders from the main, will not take the trouble to travel beyond this point in search of piece goods, and other articles they require.

In Kingston there are some good coffee-rooms, where refreshments of every kind may be obtained at all hours, of the best quality, and at a moderate price: many of the merchants, &c. find this a great convenience, and these establishments are well patronized.

The stranger, while passing from one street to another, must make up his mind to be somewhat pestered by hawkers, principally of the Jewish tribe, who sometimes sell articles uncommonly cheap; but these are usually goods that they themselves have purchased at sale of an insolvent's stock, and seldom to be relied on for the measure or quality described. They, however, know that a person often buys something to avoid their importunate applications.

Kingston is well provided with medical men of first rate abilities; and taking into consideration the labour and risks they undergo, the establishments they must necessarily maintain, and the number of quadrupeds they annually lose from over-fatigue, and other casualties, the charges they make are not exorbitant, although it appears so to one unacquainted with these contingencies. It is no uncommon thing for a medical bill to be disputed; and should it come to a trial, the practitioner rarely succeeds in obtaining the full extent of his charges: but even this must not be deemed a proof of the overcharge,

as, in many cases, the legal rate is perfectly inadequate to the services performed. Nevertheless, some individuals are apt to err greatly on the opposite side.

As regards carriages, it has been found that vehicles built of the country woods will stand the brunt of the climate considerably better than those imported, particularly in travelling where the owner is not always so fortunate as to meet with a covered shed, or chaise-house, at every place where he makes a stage. Independent of this, the negro valets are not notorious for the most scrupulous attention to their masters' conveyances, when an arrival about sun-set prevents their actions from being superintended. In consequence of the intense heat of the climate, the constant inequalities in, and oftentimes extremely rugged state of the roads, and the irregular periods at which they are fed, no horse can be depended on to perform a journey of any distance, moderate in comparison to the customary English travelling; hence arises the train of led horses that invariably form a part of the traveller's equipage. When it can be accomplished, some are sent forward the previous day; but this can only be effected when the master conceives he can trust the negro he intends to dispatch with them; and seldom, indeed, would this be done, if he knew what way the money was to be expended which he appropriated for the support of his animals. Throughout the whole island, with some exceptions, the inns along the roads (always called *taverns*) are of a very indifferent class, and the charges much too high for the accommodation afforded. A roast capon, or broiled chicken, (just caught)

with a dish of fried ham and eggs, is the best fare to be expected, as nothing fresh is kept, in consequence of the uncertainty of callers. A dish of cocoas or yams, with a few roast plantains, completes the repast, for which ten shillings currency per head is the charge. A bottle of common Teneriffe wine, (there called *Madeira*,) is six shillings and eight-pence, and a bottle of porter two shillings and sixpence; a poor bed is six shillings and eight-pence; and a slight breakfast next morning, with eggs, is five shillings each, at least.

CHAPTER XI.

The supreme Court—Court of Ordinary—Court of Appeal upon Errors—Court of Vice Admiralty—Boards of Forts and Fortifications—Board of Public Accounts—Board of Public Works—Court of Admiralty Sessions—Court of Chancery—Government Public Offices—Naval Yard and Naval Hospital—Ecclesiastical Court—Bishop—General Post-Office—Militia—Staff—Maroons—Free Schools—Corporation of Kingston—Vaccine Establishment—City Guard—Free Masons' Lodges—Schools—English Education.

St. Jago de la Vega, or *Spanish Town*, as it is commonly designated, seems in every respect totally different from Kingston; for, on quitting the latter, you appear to leave behind every description of bustle and symptom of foreign commerce. As Spanish Town is the seat of government, and as the Grand Court is held there three times in the year, it becomes necessarily the residence of all officers connected with the government, as well as of those attached to or practising in the different courts. In the cursory remarks made respecting this town, its general character and the customs of the inhabitants were particularly represented; it, therefore, merely remains now to mention, that whatever law-business is transacted in other parts of the island, generally, by some process or other, terminates here, either in the shape of an appeal, or for the purpose of being recorded. The courts are very spacious and extremely convenient.

The *Grand, or Supreme Court*, is, as the name evidently implies, the superior legal tribunal of the island. From its decisions there is only an appeal to the king in council; and this alternative is so expensive, that even, with the expectation of getting a decree reversed, a suitor is seldom bold or wealthy enough to make the attempt; sometimes, however, when there is sufficient cause, an ejectment case is moved to the Court of Errors, but rarely with the anticipated effect. The Supreme Court is composed of the chief justice of the island, in conjunction with two, three, or more of the assistant judges; there is an attorney and solicitor-general, clerk of the crown, clerk of the court, and solicitor for the crown, attached to the court, also generally from six to ten barristers in practice. A provost-marshal general, and seven deputies, acting in the like number of districts. The duties of these officers are by no means agreeable, but the salary is liberal; and some of the deputies make up in emolument what they lose in comfort, as the following authentic tale will exemplify.

A gentleman, deeply in debt, had been for some time so pressed by his creditors, that, for his personal security, no alternative was left but to lock his gates, and remain a prisoner at home. This plan he successfully adopted for many months, to the great annoyance of the deputy-marshal, who, in consequence, could make no satisfactory return to his writs. At length the gate was one day found open, through the negligence of the watchman placed there, and an entry effected by the deputy-marshal, to the no small surprise and consternation of the poor creditor. In vain did he plead his incapacity to raise the sum; in vain did he assert the absence

of funds; in vain did he offer to liquidate a part of the demand, by assigning over some of his stock to the creditor at a fair valuation. Arguments and proposals on the one side, protestations and refusals on the other, now became rather vehement, as both were pacing up and down the long piazza, when the debtor perceived that the marshal's hands were held crossed, at his back, and the right one in constant motion, as if he was in the act of receiving something. He took the hint, and, retiring to his room, he brought out two doubloons, which were soon insinuated into the hand that, till then, had never ceased to expand and contract. The golden antidote acted like magic; for the yellow dust flew to the marshal's eyes, and so completely deprived him of sight, that had not the debtor himself helped the unwelcome visitor to his horse, and accompanied him to the gate, it is supposed he would have been obliged to remain until an operation had been performed by the nearest oculist. No doubt a more trustworthy watchman was immediately substituted for the negligent one.

The *Surrey and Cornwall Assize Courts* are similarly formed, with the addition of some local justices: of course, there is no deficiency of solicitors and attorneys.

The *Court of Ordinary* is occasionally held by the governor, at which he alone presides: its appellation sufficiently explains its particular functions.

The *Court of Appeal upon Errors*, includes the governor, lieutenant-governor, a commander-in-chief, and the members of the council for the time being. The clerk of the Court of Ordinary generally fills the same office in the Court of Errors.

The Court of Vice-Admiralty is comprised of a judge and commissary, a surrogate, who has deputies at the out-ports, a king's advocate, principal and deputy registrars, marshal and deputy-marshal, interpreters of the French, Spanish, Portuguese, and northern languages, also an appraiser.

The Court of Admiralty Sessions is comprised of a president and assistant judges, chosen by the commander-in-chief on the station, members of the council, chief justice and assistant judges, captains of the royal army on the station, justices of assize, barristers at law, island secretary, receiver-general, naval officer, the collectors and comptrollers of the customs, all for the time being; they have also a clerk of arraigns.

There is, besides, a *Board of Forts and Fortifications*, *Board of Public Accounts*, and a *Board of Public Works*, all managed by commissioners; and the council and assembly are (*ex officio*) commissioners of correspondence.

The Court of Chancery holds a prominent rank as regards the weighty cases it has frequently to determine. The governor is (*ex officio*) chancellor, and holds his court about three times a year. He has a registrar and clerk of patents, also several masters in ordinary, and in general three extraordinary, for the island, besides one, two, or three, for each parish, according to its extent. The principal public offices attached to the government and island, not yet mentioned in due form, are a *governor*, who is also *captain general*. He appoints his own secretary and military secretary. He also has his council, consisting of a president and thirteen members. The senior member rises in rotation to the presidency,

and receives £1000 per annum for his salary. The governor has also his house of assembly, consisting of one, two, or more members, for each parish, (forty-five in all,) out of which the speaker is chosen. A clerk serjeant-at-arms, chaplain, printer, librarian, messenger, and door-keeper. The council have also their clerk, assistant clerk, librarian, usher of the black rod, messenger, and chaplain.

Next in command to the governor is the lieutenant-governor, who is also commander of the forces. He has his brigade-major, military secretary, an aid-du-camp, and sometimes two. There is also a deputy adjutant-general, and assistant do.; deputy quartermaster-general, and deputy assistant do.; deputy judge-advocate, deputy paymaster-general, deputy commissary-general, deputy assistant do., deputy inspector of hospitals, physician to the forces, and two surgeons to do., apothecary to the forces; and keeper of purveyor's stores, and hospital assistant; agent-gen., agent in Great Britain, auditor-general, and surveyor of the revenues, master of the revels; two commissioners of stamp duties, island store keeper, surveyor of public works and island engineer; island barrack-master-general, crown surveyor, island botanist, printer to his Majesty, public messenger, interpreter and translator of foreign languages to the courts of Equity and Justice; island secretary and notary public, a deputy at each port; receiver-general and public treasurer, a deputy at each port; naval officer and clerk of the navy, a deputy at each port; provost marshal-general, seven deputies, each taking a district of one, two, or more parishes.

At each port is stationed a collector of the customs, a comptroller, land and tide surveyor, surveyor and admeasurer of shipping, besides land-waiters and searchers. To this department is also attached a solicitor.

The naval establishment consists of a commander-in-chief, who has his own secretary, an agent, a contractor for victualling the squadron with fresh beef and vegetables, and a contractor for sea provisions.

To the *Naval Yard*, a commissioner, with two clerks, store-keeper; with two clerks, and extra ditto, when occasion requires; a master clerk, and master attendant, with clerk to ditto; master shipwright, foreman, and clerk; boatswain, store porter, and gate porter.

The *Naval Hospital* maintains a surgeon, agent and clerk, dispenser, porter, and matron.

The *Ecclesiastical Court* formerly consisted of four commissaries, a registrar, and apparitor, notwithstanding the livings were in the gift of the governor; but since the appointment of the bishop, the court has been discontinued, as all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and controul is centered in his lordship. This spiritual officer performs every duty incidental to his appointment, and makes occasional tours though his extensive diocese for the purposes of ordination, visitation, &c. The island has greatly benefited by this wise act of the government, as the ecclesiastical functions were previously but loosely carried on.

The *General Post-Office* next claims attention. This department comprises a deputy postmaster-general, a chief and numerous other clerks, in Kingston, and deputy postmasters stationed at

proper and convenient distances along the post-roads in every direction. The windward post-road extends 64 miles. That of the North side to Port Antonio, 60. North side to Port Maria, 42. North side to Green Island, 151; and that of the South side to Sav. la Mar, 119. In a climate like Jamaica, where the messengers are of the negro race, it is rather surprising so few accidents happen the conveyance of letters, particularly as the weather is sometimes extremely unfavourable.

Of the *island militia*, the governor, from his rank of captain-general, holds the supreme command; but, having under him a major-general for every district, the duties are entirely delegated to them, as regards the internal management, reviews, &c. &c. The staff appointments are numerous, and consist of one adjutant-general, and two assistant ditto; two deputy adjutant-generals, a quarter-master-general, three deputy ditto; a muster-master-general, three deputy ditto; judge-advocate-general, three deputy ditto; inspector-general of hospitals, physician-general, assistant physician-general, deputy ditto for Cornwall; surgeon-general, surgeon-general for Cornwall; a major-commandant of artillery for Middlesex, ditto for Surrey, ditto for Cornwall.

The *Middlesex Regiment of Horse* consists of ten troops, at different stations in the country, and one regiment of foot for each parish.

The *Surrey Regiment of Horse* consists of nine troops, and one regiment of foot to each parish.

The *City of Kingston*, however, has two battalions.

The *Cornwall Regiment of Horse* consists of six troops, and there is a regiment of foot to each of its parishes.

There are four maroon stations, viz.—

Moore Town, in the parish of Portland, with about eighty maroons and their families

Charles Town, in St. George's, about one hundred and ten maroons and their families.

Scott's Hall, in St. Mary's, about twenty maroons and their families.

Accompany Town, in St. Elizabeth's, about sixty maroons with their families.

Each station is under the command of a superintendent, with a salary of £200 a year. The superintendents hold the rank of captain in the island militia.

Of the "free schools," we may notice the principal ones. The *Jamaica Free School*, at Walton Penn, in the parish of St. Ann, under the management of governors and trustees. There is a head master, and an assistant, also a clerk to the trustees, and a treasurer. *Woolmer's Free School*, in the parish of Kingston, of which the common-council are the trustees. They have a head master and two ushers, a treasurer, a psalmodist, and tutress for the girls. This school was established so far back as the year 1729. The *Titchfield Free School*, in the parish of Portland, is under the direction of trustees, of whom the governor, lieutenant-governor, commander-in-chief, and many other public officers form a part; they have also a master and clerk, treasurer and surgeon. A coroner is appointed for every parish, and frequently his situation is no sinecure.

The corporation of Kingston is elected the second Wednesday in January. It consists of a mayor, twelve aldermen, and twelve common-council men. The following is a description of the city seal: On one

side, the arms, crest, supporters and mottos, Legend "*sigillum commune civitatis de Kingston, in Jamaica.*" Reverse—Britannia, in the dress of Minerva, holding in one hand the trident, and in the other a mirror, reflecting the rays of the benign influence of Heaven on the produce of the island; behind her the British lion supporting her shield; a conche shell at her feet, and at a distance a ship under sail. Legend—" *Hos foret, hos curat servatque Britannia mater.*" Britain, the mother country, cherishes and protects these fruits.

The city officers, and those holding appointments are a recorder, solicitor and treasurer, churchwarden, city clerk, clerk of the common-council, chief constable and police officer, two collecting constables for two districts, collector of the parochial rents, parish clerk, organist, sexton, beadle, organ-keeper, keeper of the court-house, clerk of the markets, keeper of the city clock, printer to the corporation, surveyor, fire-warders, &c., &c. &c. besides those attached to the parish house, public hospital, and workhouse.

The *Jamaica Vaccine Establishment* is also situated in Kingston, and conducted by a physician as director, with a sufficient number of operators and a clerk.

The *City Guard* was instituted on the twenty-eighth of July, 1783, and consists of two lieutenants, two serjeants, two corporals, and forty-four privates, whose pay is extremely liberal. The guard-house is situated in Harbour Street.

There are about twenty *Freemasons' Lodges* in the island; and though some are not regularly attended, it is unnecessary to specify their names or number.

Independent of the public seminaries already mentioned, there are parish schools in every town, besides various excellent establishments for females. It is, however, the prevalent custom, for all who possess the means, to send their children to England for education. Still, good scholars are to be found, who never were off the island. In Kingston there are a variety of most respectable schools, where classical as well as plain education can be attained, with every other mental accomplishment that can be required: but it has been found that nothing but the "*home education*," as it is termed, can give the last polish so necessary for children in the genteel grade of society.

All information relative to the country and inhabitants, deemed necessary, having now been furnished, it only remains to make the reader conversant with the latest code of laws that were particularly applicable to the slave population, in order that the public may be the better able to judge where, and in what points, they were so grievously infringed on, and decidedly ruptured, by the agitators and actors concerned in the rebellion. To attempt more than a concise abridgment, would intrude too much on the space allotted for this department; but, as it is extremely expedient that the reader should become acquainted with the general heads, he will excuse brevity, and feel satisfied that "the pith of the enactments are placed before his eyes."

BRIEF
ABSTRACT OF THE SLAVE LAW,

PASSED

*By the Jamaica House of Assembly, during the Session,
held at the latter end of the year 1826.*



PREAMBLE.—~~Whereas~~ ^{Whereas}, it is expedient that the Laws now in force relating to Slaves should be revised and consolidated, and other provisions be enacted to promote their religious and moral instruction, and by means whereof their general comfort and happiness may be increased, as far as is consistent with due order and subordination and the well being of the colony.

1.—May it therefore please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and

Be it therefore enacted, by the government council, and assembly of this your Majesty's Island of Jamaica, That from and after the commencement of this Act, the following Acts be repealed, and the same are hereby repealed accordingly, viz.

57 Geo. III. Chap. 25. — 2 Geo. IV. Chap. 16.

4 Geo. IV. — 15. — 5 Geo. IV. — 21.

5 Geo. IV. — 22. — 6 Geo. IV. — 19.

2.—Declares, That the Act of 25 Geo. III. chap. 8. is not repealed.

3.—That slaves are to be instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and the utmost endeavours used to fit them for baptism; which ceremony is to be performed by the clergyman, without fee or reward.

- 4.—That marriages of slaves are to be solemnized without fee or reward; but the ceremony is only to take place between parties who shall have satisfied the clergyman of the parish that they possess a proper knowledge of the nature and obligation of such a contract, and produce also proofs that they have the sanction of their owner, or of his legal representative, for the performance of the ceremony.
- 5.—That slaves taken under any writ of venditione by the provost marshal, or any of his deputies, shall be sold in families, and not separated; but levies may be made on individual slaves; and excessive levies are not hereby authorized.
- 6.—That no market shall be held on Sunday, after the hour of eleven o'clock in the forenoon; and that notice of closing the market shall be duly given; this clause, however, is not intended to prevent the keeping open of any druggist's shop, tavern, or lodging-house; or to prevent the sale of fresh meat, fresh fish, or milk, on Sunday, at other hours than those of divine service.
- 7.—That slave levies, made on Saturday, shall be deemed as illegal as if made on Sunday.
- 8.—That every slave be allowed twenty-six days to himself every year, exclusive of Sundays: that is, one week-day during every fortnight, under a penalty of twenty pounds against the owner or overseer.
- 9.—That in order to induce slaves to keep up their own grounds, no person shall hire a slave on his own day, without his owner's permission, under a penalty of five pounds.
- 10.—That no labour shall be done by slaves on any estate or plantation during Sunday. No mills to be worked between 8 *p.m.* on Saturday, and 5 *a.m.* on Monday, under a penalty of twenty pounds.

- 11.—That all negro grounds shall be regularly and carefully inspected by the proprietor or overseer at least once in every month, lest they be neglected, under a penalty of ten pounds.
- 12.—That where there may not be lands proper for negro grounds, or where, by reason of long continuance of dry weather, the negro grounds have materially suffered, the proprietor or overseer shall provide for each negro at the rate of three shillings and four-pence, either in money or provisions, under a penalty of fifty pounds.
- 13.—That every possessor of slaves shall furnish to each, once a year, proper and sufficient clothing, to be approved of by the justices and vestry of the parish, under a penalty of five pounds for each slave omitted.
- 14.—That every possessor of slaves, shall give in a return and account to the magistrates and vestry on the twenty-eighth day of March, in every year, specifying the quantity and quality of the clothes he has furnished to his slaves; also, that he has inspected the negro grounds and found them sufficient and in good order, or otherwise, under a penalty of one hundred pounds: or in default of negro grounds that the allowance has been given.
- 15.—That in case of a proprietor transgressing the thirteenth and fourteenth clauses, whose slaves do not exceed forty, the magistrates may remit the penalty to fifty pounds.
- 16.—That personal property of slaves is recognized, and shall not be molested, under a penalty of ten pounds, and the value of the property besides; but they are not to keep cattle, &c. on any person's land, without permission.
- 17.—That slaves are entitled to receive bequests or legacies of any kind, and to hold the same; but they are neither authorized to sue, nor can they be sued, or be made a party to a suit in equity.

- 18.—That mothers with six children, or adopted children, shall be exempt from hard labour; and the owners exempted from paying taxes for such mothers, provided sufficient proof is given that such mothers are actually and *bona fide* exempted from field or hard labour, and are comfortably maintained.
- 19.—That all sick or infirm slaves are to be clothed, housed, attended, and properly maintained by their owner, under a penalty of twenty pounds for every instance of neglect; and any such slave found at large, shall be taken to the parish workhouse, and there maintained (but not worked) at the expence of the owner, until removed to his property.
- 20.—That all diseased or destitute manumitted persons, and slaves without owners, shall be maintained in the workhouses throughout the island, and a parochial tax annually raised for this purpose: the magistrates and vestry to make the necessary regulations respecting such persons.
- 21.—That manumitted persons, so settled, may claim all benefit of manumission bond, directed by 15 Geo. III. chap. 18.
- 22.—That owners manumitting infirm slaves must allow each ten pounds per annum, under a penalty of one hundred pounds.
- 23.—That the goods of owners so manumitting are at any time liable to the said charge for such infirm person.
- 24.—That should infirm or valueless slaves of insolvents happen to be levied on, they are to be sent to the parish of the owner, and supported at the expence of the parish.
- 25.—That such order shall be recorded in the office of the clerk of the peace, in order to indemnify the provost-marshal; but should such slave become valuable, the report to be made to the provost marshal, and a sale to be authorized.

- 26.—That owners or overseers permitting slaves with yaws, or cocobay to wander about, are to be fined twenty pounds.
- 27.—That one half-hour is to be allowed to the slave each day for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and no field labour to commence previous to five in the morning, or to continue after seven at night, except during crop, under a penalty of fifty pounds.
- 28.—That the usual holy-days shall be allowed at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; but on no account shall more than three days in succession be permitted, under a penalty of five pounds for every offence.
- 29.—That any slave informing against any person harbouring run-aways, shall receive a reward of from twenty shillings to forty shillings.
- 30.—That any slave who shall kill any rebel slave in actual rebellion, shall receive from the church-wardens the sum of three pounds; or five pounds, if such rebel slave be taken alive, and also a blue cloth coat, the cost of which is to be refunded to the parish, by the receiver-general out of any unappropriated monies he may have.
- 31.—That every person found guilty of the murder of a slave shall suffer death.
- 32.—That the carnal knowledge of a female slave under ten years of age, shall be punished with death, without benefit of clergy.
- 33.—That any person committing a rape on a female slave shall suffer death without benefit of clergy.
- 34.—That no owner or other person shall maltreat or brand any slave, under a penalty of fine and imprisonment; if done by another person, the owner to bring the action. In atrocious cases of maltreatment by owners, the slave to be made free and receive ten pounds per annum from the parish, to which the owner is to pay a fine of one hundred

pounds. In other alleged cases of maltreatment, the slave may be sent to the workhouse by any justice of the peace, but not worked, or confined with slaves under punishment. He is then to be brought before the first special session, and if the complaint is found frivolous, he may be punished; but, if well founded, justices are to take recognizances, and the offender is to be prosecuted at the expence of the parish; but the owner to be liable for all costs: the slave to remain under the care of the council of protection.

- 35.—That any justice or vestryman neglecting to attend the council of protection shall be fined ten pounds.
- 36.—That on information being laid before any justice of the peace, of the maltreatment or improper punishment of a slave, he is immediately to send for the slave, and convey him to the workhouse for protection, until the case can be legally and thoroughly investigated.
- 37.—That no slave shall receive more than ten lashes, except in presence of owner or overseer; nor even in their presence, more than thirty-nine lashes; nor shall a second punishment take place under any circumstances, until the culprit is entirely recovered from the former one, under a penalty of twenty pounds.
- 38.—That no slave shall be sent to the workhouse for more than ten days; nor shall he receive more than twenty lashes therein, without an order from a justice of the peace; nor two punishments for one offence. Any workhouse-keeper inflicting such second punishment, shall be fined ten pounds.
- 39.—That all justices are required and empowered to inquire into complaints or information of improper punishments, and to proceed, if true, immediately according to law against the offenders; but if frivolous, they are required to punish the informant

- 40.—That no collar shall be fixed on any slave without the sanction of a magistrate, under a penalty of fifty pounds; but in case of any collar being put on, the magistrate is at once to cause its removal; or, in neglect of so doing, to suffer a penalty of one hundred pounds.
- 41.—That no slave, except when going to market, shall travel about without a ticket specially worded and signed by his owner, under a penalty on his owner of forty shillings, unless he can prove that such slave absented himself without his consent; in which case the justice to order punishment. The justice neglecting this to pay five pounds.
- 42.—That no ticket so granted, shall be for a longer time than one calendar month.
- 43.—That any slave absenting himself for five days without a ticket, or found eight miles from his owner's property, shall be deemed a run-away, excepting he be on his way to or from market.
- 44.—That all slaves absenting themselves for more than six months, be sentenced to hard labor or transportation.
- 45.—That slaves absenting themselves for any time less than six months, be tried in a summary manner, and punished with whipping or hard labour; but, if incorrigible, to be tried as if absent more than six months.
- 46.—That if any slave shall harbour a run-away; or give him a false ticket or letter, for the purpose of enabling him to evade detection, he shall suffer such punishment as the court shall direct, but it shall not extend to loss of life.
- 47.—That if any free person shall be convicted of harbouring a run-away, he shall be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, which fine is not to exceed fifty pounds, nor the imprisonment to extend beyond three months; he

shall also pay to the owner of the said slave after the rate of three shillings and four-pence per diem for the time it shall be proved that the run-away has been harboured. The injured party may, however, prosecute the offender under the Inveigling Act, if he thinks proper in preference.

- 48.—That every justice of the peace is authorized and required to grant warrants against run-aways and harbourers, being slaves; and it is lawful for persons holding such warrants (having previously given notice to owners) forcibly to enter into and search the negro-houses of the property in which the run-away is supposed to be harboured, provided the warrant be executed by a lawful constable, or some white or free person, specially sworn as constable for the purpose.
- 49.—That any white, or other free person, giving a ticket or letter to a slave, by which the latter is enabled to absent himself with impunity from his owner or possessor, shall be punished, on conviction, by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the discretion of the court.
- 50.—That any slave, or other person, apprehending a run-away, shall receive a reward of ten shillings, from the owner, overseer, or manager of such slave, besides mile-money, at the rate of one shilling per mile for the first five miles, and sixpence per mile for every mile afterwards: but this is not to deprive the maroon of the forty shillings reward legally established as his fee for each run-away he takes.
- 51.—That if the run-away apprehended is taken direct to the property to which he belongs, the reward is then and there to be paid; but if taken before a magistrate, he is to commit him to the workhouse, when the workhouse-keeper is to pay the reward and mile money, under a penalty of five pounds.
- 52.—That every workhouse-keeper shall advertise weekly, with full descriptions, in the Spanish Town and

Royal Gazettes, and the Cornwall Chronicle, every run-away in their custody, under a penalty of ten pounds for every slave neglected or omitted: the expence of such advertisement to be defrayed by the owner on his removing his slave. The printer's accounts to be paid from the workhouse treasury, and the workhouse-keeper is authorized to detain slaves for charges and fees, &c. if objection or refusal is made to the payment. None but the workhouse-keeper is to attest on oath that the charges are legal. No fees or expences are to be paid by the owner of any slave sent into the workhouse by the sentence of court.

- 53.—That workhouse and gaol-keepers shall provide sufficient food daily for every slave in their custody, and clothing, if necessary, under a penalty of ten pounds for each neglect.
- 54.—That persons in workhouses, alleging themselves to be free, shall be heard at a special session, to be immediately convened for that purpose, of which public notice shall be duly given, and if the person's freedom is proved, he is to be at once discharged; if otherwise, to be remanded; but the decision of such special session shall be without prejudice to the prosecutor of the right or title of any person to such run-away, or to the prosecutor, by such person detained as a run-away, of his right or title to freedom.
- 55.—That no slave shall be sold out of any workhouse without a certificate from the justices at the special session where the case has been investigated, otherwise the sale to be void.
- 56.—That all workhouse-keepers receiving such replevin shall advertise the slave, with name, marks, &c. for four weeks, under a penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect. The owner recovering to pay all charges; but should notice of intent to defend

the action be given, the workhouse-keeper is to detain alleged slave, unless security be offered and notice thereof given.

- 57.—That any slave quitting the island, or conspiring to do so, and any slave abetting another so intending or acting, shall be punished at the discretion of the court; but not to loss of life.
- 58.—That any white or free person aiding or abetting a slave in making his escape from the island, unknown to his owner, shall pay a penalty of three hundred pounds, and be imprisoned, at the discretion of the court, for a term not exceeding twelve months.
- 59.—That in the above case, the accessory may be convicted, although the principal may not be taken.
- 60.—That no slave shall travel the public roads with dogs or weapons, or hunt with deadly weapons without a permit from his master, or in presence or company of some white person, under pain of punishment at the court's discretion, or transportation for life.
- 61.—That no owner, possessor, overseer, &c. shall permit an assemblage of strange slaves, or suffer any beating of drums, blowing of horns or shells, on the property under his charge, but shall notify the same to the nearest magistrate, or commissioned officer, under a penalty of fifty pounds; but such penalty is only recoverable, provided information be laid within fourteen days from the occurrence.
- 62.—That all officers, civil and military, are empowered and required to suppress such unlawful assemblies and drummings, by entering the plantation, and dispersing the negroes so congregated.
- 63.—That no person having charge of slaves shall permit nightly meetings, beating of drums, or other music, blowing of horns or shells, or such like, under pain of six months imprisonment, provided the information be laid within fourteen days of the

occurrence. Nevertheless, this is not to prevent any owner, or other person in charge of slaves, from allowing those belonging to the plantation or estate to divert themselves, but they must not use warlike instruments; and in such cases the amusement must terminate by twelve o'clock at night.

- 64.—That all negro burials shall end before sun-set; owners of slaves offending against this enactment to forfeit the sum of fifty pounds.
- 65.—That any white or other free person suffering an unlawful assemblage of slaves at his house or settlement, shall suffer fine or imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding one hundred pounds, or six months imprisonment; but no information to be valid, that is not given within fourteen days after the time of meeting.
- 66.—That any white or free person gaming, or suffering others to game with a slave, or slaves, in any house or out-house in his charge, shall suffer six days confinement, and such slaves shall suffer corporeal punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes.
- 67.—That the manumission bond required by law, shall be dispensed with, in devises of freedom; but the estate of testator is to be liable for annuity to the emancipated slave.
- 68.—That slaves may be manumitted under will so executed as to pass personalities.
- 69.—That persons possessing limited freehold interests in slaves may manumit them, by application to custos or senior magistrate of the parish in which they reside; or if he be interested, then to other magistrate, by statement on oath of limitations, &c. Two other magistrates are then to be associated with him, and three valuers appointed. In case of a *feme-covert*, her consent must be obtained; but if an absentee, her appearance must be dispensed

with. In every case, however, the intention of such manumission must be advertised.

- 1.—That the receiver-general of the island shall receive the amount of valuation, and pay at the rate of six per cent. so long as it is in his possession.
- 1.—That the receiver-general shall furnish a certificate that the amount of valuation has been paid to him, and the magistrate to give an order for the manumission: this clause also contains the form of manumission to be used.
- 2.—That the order of manumission, the valuation, and certificate of the receiver-general, shall be recorded, and not delivered out, excepting under an order from the Court of Chancery, or Supreme Court; an attested copy of the same shall be deemed evidence in all courts.
- 1.—That the valuation money, or its interest, or either, shall only be paid by the receiver-general under an order from the Court of Chancery, or Supreme Court; and these courts alone can order the interest or principal to be paid, according to the interests of parties, subject, however, to the same restrictions as in the case of slaves.
- 1.—That slaves manumitted by tenant for life, dying before tenant for life; and if a female, leaving no issue surviving the tenant for life, the whole valuation shall be deemed the property of tenant for life.
- 1.—That valuation of slaves so manumitted, may be invested in the purchase of other slaves, subject to limitations, and so if slaves sought to be manumitted in the hands of a receiver in chancery, subject as was the slave.
- That in cases where the magistrates and vestry shall be satisfied that the slave is neither aged nor infirm, the manumission bond may be dispensed with.

- 77.—That if any person shall be found travelling about from place, exposing a slave for sale, he shall be deprived of said slave, which shall be sold for the benefit of the poor of the parish and the informer, in equal moieties, after deducting expences.
- 78.—That the oath of the person informing shall be valid against the offender under last clause.
- 79.—That the sale of all slaves sold contrary to the two last clauses, shall be null and void, and such slave may be taken under the warrant of a magistrate, sold again, and the funds appropriated as directed by 77th Clause.
- 80.—That no *writ of certiorari* or other process, shall issue, or any proceedings under this act.
- 81.—That all slaves guilty of rebellion, murder, or other felonies, shall be tried according to the existing laws of the island, and on conviction shall suffer death, transportation, or such other punishment as the court shall direct, according to the nature and extent of the offence.
- 82.—That all slaves found guilty of assaulting free persons, shall be punished at the discretion of the court, provided such assault was not by command of owner, or in defence of owner's person or goods.
- 83.—That slaves found with fire-arms, in their possession, without knowledge of their owner, are to be taken before three magistrates, and, if proved, to be in possession of them with evil intent, to be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 84.—That any slave practising obeah, with intent to excite rebellion, or to endanger the life or health of any other slave, to be punished as the court may direct.
- 85.—That any slave found preaching, without a permit from his owner, at the quarter sessions, shall suffer such punishment, by whipping or imprisonment, as any three magistrates may award.

- 86.—That no sectarian minister, or other preacher, shall keep open a place of meeting after sun-set, under a penalty of from twenty to fifty pounds, recoverable before three justices of the peace; one half to go to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish, and in default of payment, to suffer one month's imprisonment: this clause, however, does not prevent the kirk or any licensed minister from continuing till eight o'clock, *p.m.*, nor does it interfere with the rights of Jews and Roman catholics.
- 87.—That religious teachers extorting money from slaves under pretence of offerings or contributions, shall forfeit twenty pounds for each offence; one half to the informer, and the other half to the poor of the parish.
- 88.—That all nightly meetings amongst slaves are unlawful; and persons attending them to be taken before a justice, and, if free, to be punished by imprisonment; if slaves, by whipping, as the justice may direct.
- 89.—That any slave found guilty of preparing poison, and their accessaries, shall be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 90.—That any slave having poison, or tools of obeah, in his possession, shall be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 91.—That all slaves assembling to take unlawful oaths, or to use fire-arms, shall be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 92.—That all free persons present, and aiding or abetting at assemblies mentioned in the last clause, shall be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 93.—That any person having knowledge of such assemblies, and not giving information of the same, shall be punished by fine, imprisonment, or whipping, at the discretion of the court.

94. That any slave convicted of stealing horses, cattle, &c. or killing the same with intent to steal carcasses, shall be punished at the discretion of the court.
- 95.—That any slave having in his possession upwards of twenty pounds of flesh of horse, horned cattle, &c. and of which he cannot give satisfactory account, shall be punished at discretion of court; and, if under twenty pounds, by whipping, according to offence.
- 96.—That if any slave wantonly injures horse, cattle, &c. he shall be tried before three justices, and punished by whipping, not exceeding fifty lashes, to be inflicted at different times, or two months hard labour. Should the beast die in ten days, (although the carcase be not stolen,) then such slave to be punished at court's discretion.
- 97.—That any slave who shall be proved guilty of mutilating another slave, shall be punished at court's discretion.
- 98.—That any slave injuring another's property by fire, proceeding from his own ground, shall be punished for a misdemeanor; and any overseer, &c. neglecting to extinguish such fire, shall be fined ten pounds by any two magistrates.
- 99.—That all slaves committing offences subjecting them to death, transportation, or hard labour, for more than one year, to be tried at quarter sessions, or Special Slave Court before grand and petit jurors, &c.
- 100.—That in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. John, indictments may be preferred before a grand jury in St. Catherine; and, in all cases upon an indictment against a slave for murder, where malice prepense shall not be proved, the jurors shall be at liberty to return a verdict of manslaughter, which crime shall be punishable at the

court's discretion, but such punishment not to extend to loss of life.

101.—That it shall be lawful for magistrates, at quarter sessions, to dismiss or suspend the clerk of the peace for ignorance or misconduct, and appoint another, if custos does not name another clerk resident.

102.—That when a slave is capitally indicted, a barrister or attorney shall be appointed to his defence, and his fees paid out of the parochial funds.

103.—That every free witness neglecting to attend a Slave Court, when warned, shall be fined five pounds.

104.—That all jurors warned to serve at any of the courts, shall be exempted from civil process either in going to, attending on, or returning from, the same; and slaves in like manner free from levy.

105.—That records be kept of trials of slaves when subject to death, transportation, or hard labour, &c.

106.—That perjury of slaves shall be punished in like manner as if offence committed by a white person.

107.—That a warrant against a slave shall be served on his master, if the slave is suspected of being concealed; and if the master does not cause his apprehension, shall pay one hundred pounds, provided he is guilty of secreting the slave.

108.—That six days' notice shall be given to the owner, in cases where slaves are to be tried.

109.—That if the owner resides in a different parish, the notice to be transmitted to him by clerk of the peace, under penalty.

110.—That in cases of run-aways, and owner unknown, notice of trial to be advertised for three weeks in county papers.

111.—That when an execution is to take place, it shall be solemn and public; the rector or curate to attend the criminal while under sentence, and at execution;

the gaoler to keep the criminal sober, under a penalty of twenty pounds; and no mode of execution to be adopted but hanging by the neck.

- 112.—That slaves sentenced to death shall be valued by the jury; but not more than one hundred pounds to be awarded to owner, nor more than fifty pounds for a run-away.
- 113.—That the provost or deputy-marshal shall execute sentence of court, under a penalty of two hundred pounds.
- 114.—That the receiver-general, shall pay the value of slaves sentenced to hard labour, death, or transportation.
- 115.—Transportation slave to remain in gaol until purchaser gives bond, with surety, to transport in thirty days, and to confine in meantime securely in vessel. Bond to be recorded.
- 116.—That the purchaser of a convict shall make oath that such convict shall be transported to ———.
- 117.—That any convict found in the island after the thirty days, shall be forfeited, and re-sold for public benefit, and the proceeds divided.
- 118.—That a convict found in the island at any time after the sale, may be re-sold, half to informer and half to public.
- 119.—That any convict transported for a crime subjecting him to death, wilfully returning from transportation, to suffer death on proof of his identity.
120. That any master of a vessel bringing back a transported convict, shall forfeit one hundred pounds and suffer twelve months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize.
- 121.—That should any convict for transportation remain unsold for one month, he may be committed by a justice to hard labour in the workhouse, until transported. Receiver-general to pay owner.

- 122.—That convicts sentenced for life to hard labour, behaving well, the governor, on representation of commissioners of workhouse, may order sale with convict's approbation.
- 123.—That a slave escaping from workhouse, shall be whipped, but not exceeding fifty lashes.
- 124.—That a slave sentenced to hard labour for life, escaping, shall be re-committed, or transported, at the option of the court.
- 125.—That any provost, deputy, constable, &c. permitting an escape, shall forfeit fifty pounds, or less.
- 126.—That when a slave is discharged by proclamation the fees of marshal, &c. shall be paid by the public.
- 127.—That no gaol-keeper shall employ the slave prisoners, or hire them out, under a penalty of fifty pounds, or less.
- 128.—That all inferior offences of slaves shall be summarily punished before two or more justices.
- 129.—That the fees to clerk of the peace, attending a summary trial, shall be one pound, six shillings, and eight-pence; constable, ten shillings; except in Kingston, where the clerk's fee shall be thirteen shillings and four-pence, and that of the constable, five shillings, payable in all cases by the church-wardens.
- 130.—That the evidence of slaves shall be admitted in certain cases; provided a certificate of baptism be produced, and that the slave understands the obligation of an oath. But no free person shall be convicted, but on evidence of two slaves, who shall be examined apart, and the complaint made within twelve months, and after the 1st of May, 1827.
- 131.—That justice or coroner taking slave's examination must certify that the oath is clearly understood, &c.
- 132.—That in cases where a slave is a witness, the court cannot declare other slave free.

- 133.—That a slave found guilty of perjury shall be punished by hard labour, pillory, or whipping, or all.
- 134.—That all slaves being witnesses shall be protected from levies.
- 135.—That free persons associating in crime with slaves, may be convicted on evidence of slave accomplices
- 136.—That this act shall not cease, even should martial law be proclaimed, but remain in full force.
- 137.—That all penalties not exceeding fifty pounds may be recovered before two justices; higher ones in superior courts.
- 138.—That offences committed under late laws, be punished by said acts, but tried in manner directed in this.
- 139.—That this law continue in force from the 1st of May, 1827, to the 1st of May, 1830.

Passed the Assembly, this 7th day of December, 1826. *(Signed)* DAVID FINLAYSON, Speaker.

Passed the Council, this 22nd day of December, 1826. *(Signed)* W. BULLOCK, Cler. Con.

I consent, this 22nd day of December, 1826.

(Signed) MANCHESTER -

" Vera Copia."

THE
JAMAICA REBELLION,
OR
NEGRO INSURRECTION.

AFTER an attentive perusal of the foregoing sheets, our reader will be pretty well acquainted with the negro character, the feelings that being must have imbibed from passing events, his numerous incitements to attempt a change in his state, and the probable means he would adopt for its accomplishment. I shall have witnessed all the scenes to very little purpose, and also here furnished a most imperfect description of the various circumstances requisite for the reader's introduction to the subject, if he is not by this time tolerably qualified to judge for himself, of the facts he will find faithfully recorded. Without further comment, therefore, and to avoid carrying him too far back, we commence our general remarks from about the year 1830, by stating that, at this period, it was extremely natural to suppose the numerous petulant discussions that were daily carried on, not only in the British parliament, but in private society at home and abroad on the subject of *slavery* and *emancipation*, would cause the negro mind, (continually prone to receive erroneous impressions, on all questions where their condition

happened to be embraced,) to become more and more unsettled, and the individuals themselves to evince their dissatisfaction. Indeed, such a state of feeling created no surprise to the resident community, as it was generally understood that many of them, through the indulgence and zeal of their proprietors, having received sufficient education to admit of their perusing the newspapers, had become capable of subsequently discussing the merits or demerits of the subjects expatiated on by the different members of parliament. On almost every property there was a Wilberforce, a Stephen, a M'Cauley, or a Gambier. The interference, also, of the British parliament with the hitherto acknowledged rights and privileges of the Jamaica House of Assembly, and its unceremonious dictation of new laws for the government and treatment of the bonded servants in the colonies, gave rise, at that crisis, to communications unceasingly published in the colonial papers, expressive of extreme disgust, and excessive astonishment, that such measures should have been adopted by the mother country to the supposed inevitable loss of the West India Colonies, and these invectives were confined to no measured strain.

The colonists now considering their patrimonial property threatened with speedy and total annihilation, their future prospects irrevocably blasted, their own lives and that of their families thus thrown into imminent jeopardy, and seeing that no remonstrances would avail with the government at home, (this course having been tried,) could no longer refrain from publicly giving vent to their utmost surprise and indignation. Meetings were therefore

held almost simultaneously in every parish, at which resolutions were entered into couched in the strongest terms, which, while they evinced the most devoted loyalty to the sovereign and constitution, breathed the most positive determination to resist every attempt that might be made to wrest from them their legal rights and hard-earned possessions. It was contended on the part of those who favoured the indiscriminate, total, and immediate abolition of slavery, that as, by the divine law, man has no right to hold control over the flesh and blood of his fellow-men, so far as the sale of his person is concerned, so those who still possessed that description of property, ought to be, without delay, prevented from continuing to exercise such control, notwithstanding the means (however legal the human law might have made it) by which he had become the proprietor. On the other hand, the owners of negroes, having, in most instances, *inherited them as property* from their ancestors, who had been encouraged by the British laws to the importation of Africans for the cultivation of their estates, naturally felt sorely grieved at such an unwarrantable step, on the part of the very country that had hitherto not only fostered and held sacred their claims, but had *upheld their right* to such labour and *punished the deficiency of it with heavy fines*.

To enumerate the various and successive arguments advanced on both sides, would extend considerably beyond the limits of this little work, and might wear the semblance of touching on the province of more able writers on these particular heads. Suffice it therefore to remark, that every thing became unsettled, as no one could prognosticate

what would be the termination of this unnatural contest between the parent country and her colonies. Every kind of property began to deteriorate in value. Confidence was shaken where it had formerly been most implicit. New erections of works on estates were abandoned, unless a favourable turn should induce the completion. Each succeeding packet from England brought fresh advices of some hostile movement on the part of government, or of the formidable phalanx connected with it.

At length the patience of the Jamaica white population was exhausted, because there appeared no end to the measures adopted for their ruin; notwithstanding, as has before been stated, every exertion had for years been making by themselves to render the state of the slave as comfortable as was in their power, and for the amelioration of his condition. Even the very means they used were doomed to hasten their destruction; for the additional indulgences shown to some slaves, and the education furnished to others, became two of the primary causes of the unfortunate insurrection, as will be hereafter made perfectly evident. At this time the press teemed with acrimonious communications against the promoters of the agitation, and ceased not to vent both mischievous and pernicious invectives against the proposals of government. Whether or not this was *prudent*, is not now our business to consider; certain, however, it is, that when trodden on, even the impotent worm will recoil on its oppressor. The effect produced by the movements of these contending parties was too plainly perceptible on the *sable community*, erroneously supposed to be benefited, that the negro mind, still in a

very uncultivated state, became the depository of every evil passion, and inflamed to the utmost by the orations of certain nightly preachers, who wandered from place to place, planting the seeds of discontent among them, acknowledged no control, and evidently only waited for a favourable opportunity to carry into effect the designs that were then contemplating. From the happy, contented, civil, and in some instances, industrious labourer, he became sulky and dissatisfied, rude, supercilious, and exceedingly indolent; careless even of his own possessions, and apparently anxious only for the return of night, that he might wander through the darkness to some adjoining estate, where the vile itinerant was to put forth his poisonous doctrine, and retail his infamously fabricated falsehoods. These and many other equally diabolical proceedings were well known to the white population as constantly occurring; but the secrecy with which the places of rendezvous was kept, rendered it almost impossible to check its progress. In some instances, however, the miscreants were apprehended and tried; but, after full conviction, the penalty or punishment, through a mistaken lenity of the court, fell so lightly on the heads of the offenders, that it oftentimes served merely as an encouragement to a renewal of crime, and it was ascertained, that some of them, after liberation, with probably only a reprimand from the bench, have, in their next address to the beguiled and infatuated negro, actually stated their release, without punishment, to proceed from the dread entertained by the whites, that had they carried the law into effect, the whole of the negro population would immediately rise "*en masse*," and annihilated them in return.

The reader will not be astonished to learn, that, under this existing state of things, many individuals, either from a keener foresight into probable results than their neighbours, or perhaps a greater share of caution in worldly matters, absolutely concluded precipitate arrangements for the disposal of their possessions, realized all in their power, and by making considerable sacrifices in forcing sales, and allowing heavy discounts, embarked with their families in safety for England or America, thus avoiding the utter ruin and distress which has since overwhelmed innumerable families. As time wore on, so the negro mind became more and more inflamed by the poison secretly ejected through the numerous nightly meetings before alluded to. At these assemblies, each negro was expected to pay a trifling sum for admission, and was impressed with the idea, that the whole amount collected was appropriated to the *purchase of their freedom here, and the safety of their souls hereafter*. Indeed, this imposition was carried to such a height, that many of those who had joined the sect called "*Baptists*," were in the habit of purchasing from their preachers certain tickets, at a macaroni each, which were to obtain for the possessor a pardon for whatever offences he might commit. Immense numbers of these Baptist tickets were found in their possession during the rebellion. Armed with this holy defence, it is not surprising that the poor deluded wretches should stride from crime to crime, heedless of ulterior consequences; nor cease, until the infliction of some heavy, but justly merited punishment, should put an awful termination to their remorseless and sanguinary career.

To those who possessed the faculty of drawing a fair conclusion from passing events, it now became perfectly clear, that matters were coming rapidly to a crisis, and some admirably-written communications appeared almost weekly in the public periodicals, plainly predicting the most dreadful results, if proceedings were not at once adopted to avert the approaching disastrous calamities. These prophetic warnings, which, alas! proved but too true, were nevertheless totally disregarded by those in whose hands alone the power of resistance was centered, or considered as the wild phantacies of an overheated imagination. Although it was universally rumoured that no work would be done by the negroes after Christmas, which in itself amounted to insurrection, without other secret acts, such was the general apathy, that all disregarded the reports.

At this period of my narrative, (the end of 1831,) the government of Jamaica was in the hands of the Earl of Belmore; and, if any circumstance can be deemed fortunate, which has the remotest connection with events so appalling, it will be acknowledged as one worthy of record, that the *reins* were then guided by a nobleman so well qualified for the arduous task, so justly beloved by all classes, so prompt in his decisions, yet so temperate in their execution, and so decidedly correct and humane in his arrangements, which were invariably formed with profound skill, and strict impartiality. Nevertheless, although these remarks are undeniably accordant with his character, there were found individuals who denounced the governor's movements as dilatory beyond all precedent, stating, that much time had

been frittered away in various unnecessary consultations, after intelligence of the insurrection having broken out had reached the king's house ; and that even when the troops arrived in the disturbed districts, their services were rendered nugatory, from the restricted power delegated to those in command of them.

The first allegation, cannot, however, be maintained, seeing that four companies of the line had reached Montego Bay, under the command of Sir W——y, C——n, ere such a force could reasonably have been looked for by the most sanguine expectants. They had been sent round by the *Blanche* frigate, commanded by Commodore F——r, and were immediately landed. The latter statement is equally untenable; the proof whereof will be sufficiently demonstrated by the fact, that, effectual as were the services of the island militia, no breaking up or complete evacuation of a single rebel station had taken place until the advance of the king's troops caused the abandonment of their main encampment at Greenwich Hill, in St. James's. So much in refutation of the unfounded reports which were at that period so very prevalent, and to return to the governor.

His character, though conciliating, was marked with all that dignity and firmness, so frequently met with in highly educated noblemen of the Earl of Belmore's rank and country. His condescension to those in a lower grade of society, was pleasingly marked with kind feeling, but without ostentation. In his society, you perceived (but he sought not to make it felt) that you were in the presence of his Majesty's representative. The governor

invariably gave attentive and patient audience to all, on subjects requiring his official interference, judgment, or influence. Happy in the selection of his own suit, he was also peculiarly fortunate in retaining the services of Mr. B——k, a gentleman of eminent talents, and who had for many years held the office of secretary to the late governor, with great credit to himself, the most unqualified approbation of his noble patron, and with the most beneficial effects to the interests of the island. Besides these advantages, the earl's general bearing towards those who, from their circumstances and station, were more frequently in communication with his excellency, had obtained from him their cordial support and sincere good opinion. By every class, indeed, the governor was highly respected, and looked up to with confidence. Perhaps it might not be greatly out of place, also to mention, that his countess possessed, in an eminent degree, every amiable qualification and virtue, by which she rendered herself perfectly beloved, and exceedingly popular. With such qualities, this distinguished pair greatly adorned the station to which their royal master had appointed them, and by their unaffectedly courteous demeanour, secured the admiration of all who were fortunate enough to be favoured with an introduction.

It may probably be but imperfectly known, and consequently not irrelevant here to remark, that subsequent to the passing of the Act of Parliament which prohibited the importation of slaves into any of his Majesty's dominions, under the severest penalties, another law, termed the "*Registry Act*," came into force, compelling each proprietor of

slaves to make a return, on oath, of every bonded servant under his charge, with a full description of their ages, country, complexion, &c. This commenced in the year 1817, and was to be triennial.

From that period the canker-worm appeared to enter with deeper venom the breast of the negro. Previous ideas of freedom now became strongly impregnated with a feeling of *injury*, from an impression that "*Wilberforce and the King of England*," (for thus were these two potentates invariably ranked,) had compelled their masters to refrain from importing negroes, and had also demanded a list of such as were then in bondage, with the ultimate view of unceremoniously *setting them free*.

It would occupy more space than can here be allotted, were a particular detail attempted of all the proceedings that were adopted by the Anti-slavery Society, and their colleagues to promote, by the speediest means, their darling object. Unfortunately, however, their success had the effect anticipated, by reducing every description of property to a merely nominal value. For instance, a fine estate, that, twelve or fourteen years prior to this period, (I am now speaking of 1831,) would have sold readily for thirty thousand pounds, including works, slaves, and stock, could not possibly now realize one-third of that sum. Generally speaking, the depreciation of every thing denominated *property*, was on the like average; in some cases, a trifle less, but often considerably more. Nor were the possessors ignorant that this premeditated depreciation and spoliation of their properties was merely a prelude to ulterior plans. They plainly foresaw,

that, when all was rendered valueless, an insignificant sum would be fixed *on the slaves*, by those who were regardless of the acknowledged fact, that, without *negro* labour, the cultivator cannot proceed. The memorable resolutions of parliament during Mr. Canning's administration, in 1823, gave them the first positive, and not to be misunderstood, ~~warning~~ of this intention, which, though not openly declared, might very easily be surmised. The rapid succession with which other oppressive orders in council, acts, and threats followed each other, served only to irritate the colonists, and put them on their guard against further aggression: and the effect was, that every new order or suggestion from England, was naturally regarded as a prelude to some more hostile measure.

For months things remained in this distracting state. The Anti-slavery Society, Quakers, and a variety of *would-be humane* persons, unceasingly loading the parliamentary tables with immense rolls of parchment, designated with the plausible title of "*Petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in all his Majesty's dominions*," which were got up by a few fanatical individuals, and signed by immense numbers, some of whom scarcely were acquainted with the meaning of the term "*slavery*," but who certainly knew not the purport of the document to which they were affixing their signatures. It soon became no secret, that many names were inscribed by the same individual, of *persons not in existence*, and, in more than one hundred instances, whole schools of boys and girls, were in the most shameful manner permitted to subscribe themselves, as if *they* were capable of judging the merits of the case. It

mattered not, the more crowded the names, the more weighty would the petition appear; and it was of little consequence how they were obtained. Notwithstanding all these external attacks and internal commotions, nothing serious had taken place, as regards the insubordination of the negroes, since the ineffectual affair of 1824, already laid before the public in various newspaper accounts, and which many must recollect.

During the year 1831, there were occasional hints thrown out, in such insidious ways, that although the listener felt bound to give them their due weight, yet there was no tangible substance on which a party might be apprehended and brought to trial. For instance, it is common for the *driver* (or head negro man) *only*, to superintend the planting of the sugar-cane; but, occasionally, one of the white men, a book-keeper, or sometimes the overseer himself, would go out to the field, and see how the work was proceeding. On these occasions, it was not unusual, when putting in the fall plant in autumn, to have his ears saluted (but apparently aside) with a dialogue similar to the following, between some of the negroes performing the work: " *Hie Brah!* (brother) you tink, say, *me* will cut, dem cane? No, brah! *me* plant now, but *me* no cut, *Christmas come first*, *me free den*, parson tell me so, for the parson *no tell lie*, him tell de *truth*. The reply would be " *Hah, brah, me know dat! me work too long for buckra. Time now for free. Hie!* what massa do? how him get in him crop?"

Sometimes, the least sharp word from the white people, as a rebuke for neglect of work, or an intimation that punishment would certainly follow, is

repetition of any particular offence a negro had already committed, would that same night cause his absence, and he would not appear at his labour on the following day, well knowing, that he could with perfect impunity screen himself in the woods, and be joyfully received by those who had already deserted, and who had, in most cases, absolutely formed settlements, built huts, and planted provision grounds in the heart of woods impervious and trackless to the white population. In the full anticipation of their freedom at the approaching Christmas, these associations were formed in all directions, so that the lazy, disobedient, intemperate, and worthless, found no difficulty in securing a concealed retreat, when, by the work of an hour or two each day, they might indulge for the future all their worst passions. Women, as well as men, were alike defaulters; and, in some instances, they went so far as to carry their children with them.

Whatever may be asserted to the contrary, it is now a notorious fact, that long before this period the whip had become a mere emblem of office in the hand of the driver, and was scarcely ever used for any other purposes than to crack three times at daylight in the morning, in lieu of a bell, to summon the negroes to their daily occupation: again at nine, for *breakfast*, and at ten to return to work. A conch shell blew at half-past one o'clock, for *dinner*, and at half-past three, for *work*. The whip again cracked about half-past six or seven at night, near the negro-house, to call their attention to orders for the morrow. The term, *driver*, therefore, became inapplicable, and director, inspector, or overseer, would have been more appropriate to his particular office.

Towards the close of the year, reports began to be prevalent, that a compact had been entered into by them, compelling every one to refuse work on the *First of October*, which was treated with contempt by the proprietors; but when that epoch arrived, hints were industriously spread, that "*all not being ready*," the day had been postponed until the *First of November*. Although no very apparent change in their conduct was perceptible, the current rumours were not altogether discredited; but, when the latter period passed away without insubordination, it was hoped that all was unfounded. Not many days, however, had elapsed since this decision was known, when a circumstance took place which convinced the whites that something more serious was contemplated than had yet been unfolded, and proved that, if nothing had yet been attempted by the negroes, the feelings which prompted their irregularities had only been restrained till a favourable opportunity.

In the parish of St. James, among other very productive and highly-cultivated sugar estates, is one called *Saltspring*, belonging to the heirs of Mr. J. L. Bowen, deceased, but under the management of W. S. G——n, Esq. On this estate were comfortably settled about two hundred and fifty negro and other slaves.

In the previous part of this volume, the reader may recollect having been informed, that during crop time, that is, while the process of sugar making is proceeding, among other indulgences allowed to the people, is one by which each negro is permitted to carry home, at dinner time, from the field, perhaps *two or three sugar canes*, and of which he is

extremely fond, for they are very delicious eating; and there can be no doubt but, availing himself of this privilege, he invariably chooses the finest canes.

Mr. G. is a gentleman of mild temper, beyond the middle period of life, an extensive attorney (agent) or manager of properties, opulent, and in his legal character, stands prominent in his profession. He has long represented that valuable parish (St. James) in the House of Assembly, with great credit, and enjoys in his family circle entire domestic happiness.

While making his periodical excursions to the properties under his superintendence at this time, it happened that he visited *Saltspring* also, when, on riding through a cane piece to the spot where he expected to find the people at work, he met them returning therefrom, it being exactly the dinner hour. Mr. G. observed, with astonishment, how greatly the indulgence of carrying home a few canes, at dinner time, was by them encroached upon, but intended to refrain from remarks until he should see the overseer. However, on meeting a woman, who did not bear a very high character, *perfectly loaded with canes*, he asked her how she could presume to carry away such a quantity, instead of what was the usual allowance. She made him no distinct reply, but muttering something to herself, was proceeding homeward, when Mr. G. ordered her to throw down the canes immediately; this she at once refused to do, in the most impertinent manner. The driver happened to come up at this moment, when Mr. G., of course, directed him to take the woman in charge, intending to give her a few hours' confinement for her insolent conduct.

During this short interval a negro man had joined them, who commenced the most infamous abuse of Mr. G., in which he was loudly backed by the woman, whom he termed *his wife*, and more than once he raised his muschel (a kind of strong cutlass used for cutting fences, sugar-canes, &c.) in a most threatening attitude, to Mr. G. The aspect of things now became somewhat serious, and Mr. G. rode quietly back to the works to learn the cause of it, when, on his entering the boiling-house, he was surprised to find no work going on, for, although it was then dinner time, the business proceeds, and those *then* engaged, take their two hours for dinner, when the others return. The ladles were laid down, and the people unemployed. On inquiring into the cause of this stagnation, he was coolly informed by them, that they had worked long enough now, and did not intend to do so any more; that parson B——ll, had told them their freedom was sent out to the governor from England, and that the whites were preventing the governor from giving it to them; that parson B——ll would soon be out again from England, and that his directions were, that they must cease work before Christmas, for if they did one day's labour afterwards, they would be kept to it all their lives, and never get freedom. Parson B——, was their prompter, and had often told them "*they could not serve two masters*," but must only serve God; so they had determined not to wait till Christmas, but to leave off work immediately.

It now wanted only a few weeks of Christmas, and as crop had partially commenced, and some mills were about, this opposition, if permitted to go unpunished, would have only acted as an encourage-

ment to further acts of insubordination. Mr. G. having therefore particularly noticed who were the ringleaders, with his usual calmness and promptitude, mounted his horse, and proceeded to Montego Bay, from whence, being also in the commission of the peace, he sent a white constable to secure two or three of the most violent; but this man was severely maltreated, and barely escaped with his life, to proclaim his untoward reception. Three others were then despatched, well armed; but, on their arrival at the estate, the whole of the offending party had fled to the woods, nor was it found possible subsequently to secure them. By degrees, some of the less boisterous returned, craving forgiveness; and, on their promising good behaviour, were permitted to labour as usual. This circumstance spread like wild-fire, receiving immense alterations and additions, in their course from parish to parish, and even reached England, with the most scandalous and exaggerated aggravation, as regards Mr. G.'s treatment of the woman.

The slight rupture in St. James's seemed only a signal for further trials in other parishes. St. John's, Portland, and St. George's, became occasionally a little disturbed; nor were there wanting, in other districts, proofs of dissatisfaction on the part of the people. As there is so much indulgence granted to the negro population at Christmas, in holidays, allowances of provision, liquor, &c., it is natural to suppose, various excesses will be committed; and it has, therefore, been the invariable custom for the militia regiments to assemble a few days previous thereto, when the commanding officer fixes the point, of rendezvous, at which each company is

expected to be found, in case of need; and, on some occasions, it has been the practice to appoint a regular guard for duty, during the continuance of this always somewhat lawless season. Strange to say, however, nothing particular was deemed necessary this year, beyond the usual preliminary muster. Probably it might have been considered needless, as from the greatly ameliorated state of the slave population, and the immense number whose minds had been enlightened by religious instruction and some education, the inhabitants and authorities had reason to entertain a hope that all barbarous customs, and much of their former licentiousness would now disappear, particularly as the John Comm dance, the gombay, &c., had already given place to the common reel, the fiddle, and tambourin.

It must not be suspected, notwithstanding things were apparently quiet, that, in reality, *all was peace*. As the days rolled on, each of which brought it nearer and nearer to Christmas, every successive one furnished fresh intelligence of some meditated movement, when the period should arrive at which it could most conveniently be achieved. Sometimes Montego Bay, in St. James's, was to be overwhelmed, and all the whites massacred. Sometimes Savannah Le-har, in Westmoreland, was to be burnt down on Christmas night; at other times it was stated, that all the whites, in the country parts, were to be burnt in their houses, during the same night, by a simultaneous operation of the oath taken by every negro, on every property; but, whatever might have been told of their frightful intentions, no one seemed to doubt the report, that *all work was to be suspended after Christmas*,

as, during the nightly meetings held by the itinerant preachers, (of which we have spoken at the earlier parts of these pages,) the oaths then taken and pledged in blood, were considered as irrevocably binding. Among the white inhabitants every serious rumour was disregarded, because they unanimously believed nothing of consequence could *come to a head*, without its being divulged by some slave or another; and thus they permitted themselves to be lulled into a delusive security. The Christmas day of 1831, happened to fall on a Sunday.

It has before been stated that, according to the Jamaica laws, the negro has a right to, and of course always appropriates to his own purposes, *every alternate Saturday*; also that Christmas day and the two following are, from common usage, given up to him besides. Thus then it happened that, in complete opposition to the existing laws, which enact that no negro slave shall be allowed more than two days at one time, on very many estates, and other properties, they become entitled to at least *four* days together, as what is termed the *negro Saturday* had fallen on the day previous to that of Christmas. This gave immense licence to those who were conducting the meditated revolt, particularly as *night* is, even more than *day*, the season most congenial to the negro's machinations; and the reader will very soon perceive that this unusually lengthened opportunity for indulgence, was, with the most crafty avidity, seized for the consummation of the most diabolical purposes, inasmuch as the early part of it was employed to mature the plan, and the latter to carry it into effect, before a call to labour should again defeat it.

Until the evening of Tuesday, the 27th of December, nothing hostile had taken place; and as it is customary, with prudent masters, to assemble the people on the second morning after Christmas day, and (if all present) relieve them from work that day, it was generally presumed all was quiet; but how soon were these hopes to be dashed away! The setting of the sun had evidently been the preconcerted signal, for, on its departure, innumerable sugar estates were instantly in a blaze! It is generally supposed, that they only waited to see the trash houses of Bellefield Estate in flames, for, as soon as *that* was visible, the contagion spread rapidly to Argyle, Retrieve, Montpeliers, Lapland, &c., and not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but through most of the adjacent estates in St. James's. On one side of Montego Bay, the hills are so disposed as to form a most beautiful and picturesque amphitheatre, elegantly studded with sugar estates, having works and other buildings on an unusually magnificent scale. Here and there the eye rests with delight on a most tasty chateau, belonging to some extensive attorney, (agent,) or other individual, possessing influence in the community.

At this period of the year, the scenery cannot be surpassed, being so diversified by the various hues of the different crops. The bright yellow of the ripened sugar cane, forming a fine contrast with the deep green of the Indian corn, just beginning to spear, which tint is again varied by an occasional luxuriant pasture of Guinea grass. Now and then an avenue of majestic cocoa-nut trees, loaded with their huge fruit, relieves the eye, and forms a kind of leading object, by which the attention is drawn to a noble pile of buildings, surrounded at some

trifling distance, with innumerable neat-looking houses, inhabited by the negroes.

In the space of five minutes after the preconcerted signal was made, fifteen enormous fires were seen in different directions, around this once charming scene; and then it was but too plain, that the work of devastation had commenced in its most horrific form. The conche-shell was heard to blow in every quarter, accompanied by huzzas and shouts of exultation from the infatuated slaves.

It should be here remarked, that the sugar cane invariably drops its lower leaves, which are decayed, very long, and numerous, as it proceeds to maturity, and these being dry, become completely combustible. Torches were applied to all the fields of this description, which instantly took fire; and, as the land-wind had just set in, the havoc may be the more easily imagined when it is (very properly) compared to a candle applied to dry flax. Whole fields, each perhaps containing twenty, thirty, forty acres, or upwards, were thus ignited, and the atmosphere appeared one solid mass of flame. The picture was, indeed, awfully grand; nor were the rebels at all idle in the interim.

Jamaica has been justly likened to a sheet of writing paper, crumpled up in the hand, and then slightly extended; in short, composed of an unceasing series of hill and dale, most irregularly thrown together. On most of the commanding mountains, signal fires were seen to spring up in rapid succession, announcing the commencement of hostilities, and, during the first night, miles of fine cultivation were laid in waste. The island militia was of course immediately in requisition, and proceeded, as early

as possible, to the different scenes of desolation. Not a soul was to be seen on any of the estates, excepting the old, disabled, sick, or children. All others had fled to the woods, taking with them whatever weapons, ammunition, and food they could collect. It was curious to remark, that not a single blacksmith's shop (there being one on almost every estate) was destroyed; but *they* were left entire and unmolested, only with a view to their utility in case of a scarcity of arms, because those who had followed the trade might forge pikes, sharpen cutlasses, and repair such as might happen to receive damage, during the expected conflict.

The whole of Wednesday was occupied by the militia, and others, in a fruitless search after the incendiaries; and by the rebels, in concealing themselves, and closely watching the movements of their pursuers.

It has before been stated, that every male, from sixteen to sixty *must* serve in the militia, unless prevented by bodily incapacity, or some other powerful cause. The reader will therefore conclude, that, as this service is not quite voluntary, there are indulgences granted to lighten its rigidity, in a climate so uncongenial to white persons, which would never be thought of by men, who, of their own accord, enter the military profession. Among others, it is invariably the custom, that, on such occasions, every military-man mounts on whatever animal of the horse kind he may possess, or be able to borrow, and thus he scours the country in search of his enemy, more like a "*Quixote*" than a soldier. As, however, almost every individual, be he ever so poor, can muster a nag of his own, it may be supposed

that many were rather similar to the "*Syntax mare*," but some few of a superior cast. As the detachments proceeded, now and then an occasional shot from an inaccessible hill, or from the opposite side of a deep ravine, would salute the party, and more than once took effect; but it was found impossible to follow the rebel, even had he dared to show himself. On the return of the militia, guards were mounted in the towns, and the regiments (as each parish has one) variously distributed in the vicinity, wherever shelter could be found from the destructive night dews. At sun-set, however, all was blaze again, and such buildings and fields as had escaped the preceding night, were then sacrificed without delay. It will be remarked that, as all white men were now doing duty in the militia, every property was left at the mercy of the negroes, so that they had only to set fire to the various buildings, and then fly to the woods, certain of security, even should a party of militia repair to the spot. Dispatches had been already forwarded to the governor, apprising him of the scene that was acting, and every arrangement was in the interim made by the local authorities that might be deemed the best means of saving the town of Montego Bay.

It is necessary here to state, that a negro, named *Hurlock*, of character depraved and vile in the extreme, but bold even to madness, had been heard to declare, that, when once the fires had began, he would never rest until he had burnt Montego Bay to the ground, from end to end. From his general conduct, it was well known *he would accomplish his threat*, if it was in the power of man to do it; and this circumstance rendered it absolutely necessary

that the utmost vigilance should be observed, in patrolling every street and corner of the town at the same moment, and *that*, all the night long, which forced on the white inhabitants a most dreadfully severe nocturnal occupation. The temerity of this wretch was such, that he actually prowled about the streets in female attire; but so quick was his movements and his eye, that he was no sooner seen than lost. He had, of course, many skulking accomplices; but none of equal note with himself. Although this man was apparently a rover, and independent, yet he belonged to the party under the rebel captain *M Lennan*.

It was known to be the fact, that Hurlock once visited every guard about Montego Bay, in disguise, as a water-carrier, seller of segars, &c., amusing each with some marvellous tale of what was proceeding in the country; and by this means, learnt not only the strength of the different detachments, but, in many cases, *which were to be their probable routes the following day*. Thus he was able to report to their head-quarters, at Greenwich Hill, the result of his inquiries; and the leaders took care that some of their best marksmen should be lying in ambush, at convenient spots, in order to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded to pick off some of the militia, without the chance of the fire being returned.

Before we proceed farther in this narrative, it seems proper and expedient to inform the reader that, although a general rising had been long meditated by the negroes, one obstacle or another invariably presented itself, to mar its progress, or even its commencement; but the time had at length arrived, and was deemed quite favourable.

In the town of Montego Bay, there was a very commodious Baptist chapel, which, from the doctrine there promulgated being extremely (and very naturally quite) congenial to the minds of the discontented among the negroes, was fully attended. It was served principally by Mr. B——ll, Mr. K——bb, and others. These individuals lost no opportunity of instilling into the minds of the negro population the utter impossibility of their *serving two masters*. They invariably quoted every portion of scripture which could have a tendency to shake their allegiance to their owners, or impress upon their minds the degraded state in which they were *cruelly detained* by those who had power over them. The following, and other similar passages, were constantly read and expatiated on, with the utmost virulence, viz.—

“If the Son therefore shall make you *free*, ye shall be *free indeed*.” John viii. 36.

“No man can serve *two masters*.” Matt. vi. 24.

“Ye are *bought with a price*; be not ye the *servants of men*,”
I Cor. vii. 23.

“There is neither Greek nor Jew; there is neither *bond nor free*,” Gal. iii. 28.

“Be not entangled with the *yoke of bondage*.” Gal. v. 1.

with numerous other texts of similar import.

It is by no means unnatural to suppose, that such conduct, pursued by those to whom these ignorant beings looked up for religious instruction, would not only completely unsettle their minds, but also irritate them beyond measure, and nurture, to the utmost, a deadly passion of revenge, so invariably the tenant of an uncultivated breast. The sequel will prove how truly the fatal arrow had been pointed. At this particular period, Mr. B——ll,

the principal Baptist preacher, was absent from his charge, having, during the previous year, repaired to England; but he had left able labourers to continue sowing the seeds of dissatisfaction until his return, which was daily expected.

By evidence elicited from most of the witnesses examined at the trials of the principal offenders, it was plainly shown, that the absolute fixing of the plan took place one day after the congregation of this chapel was dismissed, a Sunday or two previous to the Christmas of 1831, they having just listened to a discourse, which, in their own words, "*forced them to take free, because parson tell dem tings to make dem blood boil.*"

The man who took the lead, and was thence forward nominated *chief*, was a negro, named Samuel Sharp, or Tharp, belonging to a female then residing at Montego Bay. He was active, intelligent, and subtle, possessing considerable influence over the rest, from the circumstance of his being a "*ruler*" in the Baptist church, (to which they all belonged,) and employed by the preachers to "*carry the word*" to the members of their congregation. From all these occupations he was designated in the following style, *daddy, ruler, general, Samuel Sharp.*

The next in command, with the rank of colonel, was a negro named "*Gardiner*," the head waggoner on Greenwich estate. He was tall, stout, and wore a manly countenance; bold in danger, and prompt in the execution of plans previously arranged. His associates feared to disobey him, as he evinced a greater portion of determined courage and fearless enterprise than any of the rest. He seemed to feel that almost every thing depended on *his exertions.*

The grade below Gardiner, was filled by a negro named "*Dove*," whose rank of lieutenant-colonel, afforded him opportunities to carry into full effect all the craft and subtility with which he was highly endued. His very brow was a type of cunning. His mouth displayed a sarcastic grin, and his whole contour possessed the beholder with an idea of the utmost degree of artfulness.

The rank of major seems to have been somewhat overlooked, as only a few noted ones were distinguished by that appellation.

Among the numerous band of captains and subalterns, it is needless to mention more than two or three of the ringleaders, otherwise too much space will be occupied.

We commence, then, with "*Captain M'Cail*," a negro belonging to Prospect Plantation, who was a most powerful and resolute depredator. His master had commanded the western interior regiment of militia; but having died a short time previous to the insurrection, this slave *clandestinely* possessed himself of all his accoutrements, and a considerable stock of both blank cartridge and powder in cask, which was in Colonel M'Cail's custody, previous to his decease.

Captain Alexander Campbell, (more generally known by the appellation of "*Lord Howe*,") was also indefatigable in his exertions, although *his duty* seemed principally to be comprised in carrying on a system of "*espionage*," with a small party of bold adventurers, who, besides engaging in occasional acts of arson, conveyed to their head-quarters every movement of the troops that could be deemed worthy of notice. His division formed also a section of the

incendiary party, and he not unfrequently sent notice of his intentions the previous night, in order to gain proselytes. Where he found no resistance, a few only of his men and boys were employed to fire the property; but, if opposition was evinced, an armed body at once repaired to commit the act, and run all risks: so bold were they already grown in crime, and encouraged, no doubt, by the trifling check that had hitherto been opposed to their depredations.

Among the lieutenants and ensigns were James Milla Fine, Donald M'Intosh, James M'Intosh, John Largia, Thomas Simpson, Wilna M'Donald, and innumerable others, whose only necessary qualifications seemed to be a most resolute spirit, a reckless idea of consequences, and a determination to carry into effect whatever bloody orders were issued by their superiors. Of course, the reader cannot expect to find such individuals accoutred in anything like a martial garb. Although some of the ringleaders absolutely wore scarlet jackets, and had possessed themselves of other military accoutrements, the usual negro dress generally served as their uniform, and their arms consisted principally of a few old muskets and fowling-pieces, carbines and pistols, stolen, or otherwise privately procured during the previous year; but, in addition to these weapons, they had their muschetts, which were an admirable substitute for a cutlass.

Those unacquainted with Jamaica society, will express surprise at the facility with which the negroes appear to have obtained a supply of these articles; and we must therefore inform them, that scarcely any person goes to the West Indies without

that almost indispensable article, "a gun." From the great frequency of deaths, among overseers and book-keepers especially, these guns are easily purloined by the negroes employed about the unfortunate man during his illness, and it is not doubted that in this manner by far the greater proportion of fire-arms used by the rebels were procured. It is unnecessary further to remark, than, merely to add, that the scheme had been well organized, and to a certain extent it succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations.

Although the first symptoms of revolt and incendiarism appeared at and in the immediate vicinity of Montego Bay, it must be understood that the plans of the disaffected had been so well digested and skilfully arranged, that depredations were going forward at the same time in other quarters. In Trelawney, in Hanover, Westmoreland, and in St. Elizabeth's, all was uproar and consternation, insolence and disaffection. Even in the distant parishes of St. John's, Clarendon, St. George's, Portland, &c., partial revolts took place. Just at this time, and while the rebels were hotly at work in St. James's, the extremity of St. Elizabeth's, most contiguous to the agitated district, became seriously rebellious. It commenced at a plantation called "*Ginger Hill*," belonging to Dr. L——e, a gentleman of very great respectability, residing in Montego Bay.

On the Wednesday night subsequent to Christmas day, being the 28th December, Mr. A——d, the overseer, without any previous notice, found himself, while quietly sitting in his room, surrounded by the property negroes, who informed him of what was proceeding, and peremptorily ordered

his acquiescence to their determination of confining him to one particular apartment, under the charge of their own sentries, until they saw the result of the insurrection. Remonstrance was unavailing; and thus was an innocent and excellent young man doomed to solitary confinement, perfectly convinced his situation could not be made known to the whites, and anticipating nothing but a brutal murder from his sanguinary gaolers. The overseer once secured, the negroes became a lawless banditti. All the buildings on the property were burnt down, and the passes to the house well barricaded. In conjunction and constant communication with Ginger Hill people, were those of an estate a short distance below, called Y. S. from the circumstance of the windings of the river forming those two letters, close to the estate.

The whole of this district, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, became convulsed; and, from the disposition evinced by the Y. S. negroes, it was deemed prudent by the authorities, to prevent further damage, to secure and convey, as hostages, about fifty of the most able negroes on board the *Cygnets* sloop, lying at anchor in Black River harbour. This could never have been effected, had not Major-General R——n, commanding the district, acted with the utmost promptitude and decision. He first posted two companies of the St. Elizabeth's regiment on the estate, and then secured the most turbulent, and those most capable of influencing the rest, before they could escape. This was one among the numerous judicious steps taken by the major-general, which proved him well qualified for the rank and post assigned to him by the governor.

It will not be out of place, while speaking of this particular district, to mention a circumstance that occurred shortly after this time, as, no doubt, it was in some degree connected with the feelings then raging in the negro breast.

On Vauxhall Estate, not far distant from Y. S., Mr. C. L. a young man of irreproachable character; held the appointment of overseer, being desirous of obtaining cash for an island check of £100, had ordered his gig the previous night, to be ready on the following morning, at a specified hour, to proceed to Long Hill, where the collecting constable's office was held, (answering to our Tax Office here,) where he knew he could obtain his object, and had even named the horse he intended for the journey, in order to perform it with all expedition. He reached Long Hill in safety, transacted his business, and proceeded on his return until within a few fields of his own residence, when, on a sudden, three negro men rushed from the wood by the road side: one seized the horse's head; another sprung into the vehicle and secured Mr. L.'s arms, while a third gave him a deadly blow on the head with a bludgeon. All this was instantaneous; but, had it not been so, Mr. L.'s disabled state would have rendered him no formidable adversary to even one miscreant, as he had met with an accident some time previous which entirely deprived him of the use of one hand, consequently his little (hitherto faithful) negro boy was then his charioteer; and he, being in league with the assailants, as was subsequently proved, made their task easy, by stopping the horse at the preconcerted signal and spot fixed. His body was found on the following day, by the road side, in a

most dreadfully mangled condition. However, after some time, these barbarous murderers met with the ignominious fate they so deservedly merited. Such acts were not unfrequent; but merely considered "*signs of the times.*"

It is only justice to add, that the principal cause which led to the discovery of the atrocious murderers, was a reward of one hundred and fifty dollars offered by Mr. J. D——y, a wealthy and high spirited gentleman of the parish of St. Elizabeth, who nobly came forward in the cause of humanity, although in no way connected with the unfortunate gentleman, or interested in the property or its management.

But to return to the immediate scenes of insurrection. It will be recollected that, on the arrival of official intelligence from the proper authorities, rebellion and arson were making rapid strides, when the governor issued his proclamation, instituting martial law throughout the island.

The narrative will now be confined for a short period to the details of events in the parishes of St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland, and their vicinities. As the incendiary spirit was now increasing to an alarming extent, and parties were now fast approaching that part of St. Elizabeth, called the Savannah Mountains, Major-General R——n, with his usual discretion, fixed one of his district headquarters at a large property called N. S——h, belonging to J. S——, Esq., who was also his brigade-major, and a more judicious nomination could not have taken place. The edifice and grounds afford immense accommodation for guest, menial, and quadruped. The truly noble hearts of that proprietor

and his amiable partner, were ever open to the utmost extent of hospitality; and fain would I dwell on the countless acts of generosity, kindness, and humanity, I witnessed during that eventful period of privation, where this benevolent couple were the sole benefactors; but, from a fear of giving offence, I refrain, most reluctantly, from recording even a few of their praiseworthy actions.

Matters were now becoming extremely serious, and, as the fires were every night rapidly advancing towards St. Elizabeth's, Major-General R———n distributed the militia regiments under his command, by detachments, in such places as he deemed most expedient, fixing his own head-quarters at the inland town of Lacovia, a most central situation. Having two or three stations as district head-quarters, he fixed (as before stated) N. S——h as one, Y. S. Estate as another, &c. &c. The mansion-house of N. S——h is on a fine elevation, and commands an extensive flat below, through which runs the main road from St. James's to St. Elizabeth's. Here, and in the immediate neighbourhood, he stationed from two to four companies, as occasion required, judging most correctly, that from this position sorties could be made with advantage at seasonable junctures. The immense common pasture below afforded sustenance for the horses during day-light, and the close paddocks around the house furnished an easy access to them, when required to be speedily caught for a nightly movement. The reader may form some judgment of the liberal and humane character of the proprietor, from an anecdote presently to be related.

On a neighbouring hill, and within sight of N. S——h, resided a friend of Mr. J. S——h whose family consisted of a youthful wife and three very young children, also a young lady, his wife's sister. This gentleman had served some years in the army, and had retired, after the peace of 1815, to the management of his patrimonial possessions in Jamaica. For distinction, we will designate him Mr. B. S——. Their friendship had been tried, and had not been found wanting.

On the morning of Thursday, the 29th, Mr. J. S——h received a letter from a Mr. M'D——ld whose residence was on an adjoining mountain, but still higher, and commanded a clear and extensive view of all the burning country. The letter was to the following effect: "Sir,—Having no confidence in my own people, I stole out last night, after dark, to the highest hill on P——h, and witnessed, in rapid succession, the destruction, by fire, of several estates in St. James's and Trelawny: as I was an overseer for many years in that quarter, I knew the situations of those I last night saw consumed. As soon as Belfield was fairly in flames, the Montpeliers were blazing; Argyle, Retrieve, Irvin, Anchovy, Bolton, Richmond Hill, and many others, followed. The flames commenced, I conceive, invariably with the trash-houses, and the cane-pieces were fired after the buildings were consumed. The conflagration was dreadful. To avoid discovery, I used my utmost caution in gaining my own house; but this was unnecessary, as not one of my own people were at home."

Soon after the receipt of this communication, Mr. J. S——h, and one of his guests, while riding

long a road adjacent to his property met two brown men, who evidently had walked a great distance. These men furnished such information as convinced Mr. J. S. and his friend, that the ladies of all families in that district ought, without delay, to be removed to a place of security. He therefore wrote thus to his friend, Mr. B. S., on the opposite hill: "Dear S., we have just learnt that the rebels burnt down Chester Castle last night, and chopped off the head of the driver, because he opposed them: sharp work this for blackey. You had better bring your family over here immediately, as we muster strong, and we will then concert plans for the security of our wives and families. Send over by bearer any bullets you have, or lead, and we can cast to-morrow. We will wait dinner till half-past six or seven for you."

To Mr. B. S. this was most unexpected, as he was under no apprehension until the danger was so near. He deemed it too great a risk to run, should he decide on remaining with such a charge in an unprotected state. The summons was consequently obeyed; and on the arrival of himself and family at Mr. S's, they made up twelve adult whites and twenty-three white children, under the hospitable roof of the worthy host. On the following morning, after breakfast, every lady and child was forwarded in carriages, phaetons, gigs, &c. down to Black River, where some merchant vessels were lying. These were soon crowded, and a proportion of the defenceless remained in the town.

Notwithstanding all the danger that threatened around, nothing could prevail on Mrs. J. S. to quit her residence and spouse. Although of temper

mild, she was magnanimous in spirit, and her excessive attachment to her husband would not admit of her quitting him, even in peril. It was truly heroic on her part, and most fortunate for all, that she had courage thus to act; for it is quite impossible that any individual, unendowed with the qualifications she possessed, could have carried through the arduous duties she so cheerfully undertook and so admirably performed.

On the first authentic intelligence, Mr. J. S. (the brigade-major) communicated with major-general R——n, who, having called out the militia, had already commenced fixing detachments at such posts as he deemed most desirable. On the following day, a company reached N. S——h (the district headquarters) and despatches were forwarded by Major-general R——n to the governor, apprising him of the necessity for a reinforcement of king's troops, which almost immediately arrived at Black River and Montego Bay. The reader will bear in mind, that the quarter *most disturbed*, lay exactly between these two towns, which, by land, are from fifty to sixty miles distant from each other. Martial law had already been proclaimed, and every individual who was, in ordinary times, exempted from the militia service, now hastened to report himself at headquarters, and took an active part in the defence and preservation of property. Soon after the detachment arrived, the major-general, on the following morning (Sunday) divided it into parties, which scoured the adjacent country, in the hope of suddenly coming on some of the rebel retreats; but they proved themselves too cautious to be taken by surprise. I was myself with one of the parties.

After we had visited Lennox Estate, Windsor Forest, Darliston, Enfield, Ormiston, Welchpool, and others, making occasional incursions from the road, wherever appearances led us to believe there was a negro track leading to a retreat occupied by the rebels; our route, on returning, led us through "*Woodstock*," on which property the owner, Dr. S——e, had just completed the erection of a handsome mansion, comprising two stories. It was, however, nearly demolished, and nothing remained but a smoking ruin. On seeing us ride up, some of his negroes came out of their houses to meet us, and stated, that the building had been fired by the rebels during the preceding night, and that scarcely time had been allowed them to remove a part of their master's furniture, which was at that time deposited in a small pasture by the wood-side. At the period of our parley, we were surrounded by woodland; but not within gun-shot, which, as we afterwards learnt, was fortunate, as had that been the case, we should most certainly have been fired on by a party of the rebels who were in ambush, and watching us during the whole of our conference with the Woodstock negroes. Indeed, it subsequently came out, that we had passed within a few yards of a well armed party, during the same morning, who might easily have picked us all off; but they feared to create an alarm, taking us for only the advance guard, and supposing that the main body was at our heels. The Woodstock people assured us, that the rebels were full three thousand in number on Greenwich Hill alone, and that they, themselves, had most positive orders to join them that night, as the grand battle with the whites was

to take place the next day. They even informed us that, at that moment, we were closely watched by the rebels, many of whom were lurking on the wooded hill, close to the negro-houses; but it was impossible for us to reach them, although they could distinctly see us. These people added, that they were unwilling to join, but would be murdered if they stood out any longer.

From them we understood, for a certainty, that "*Daddy Sharp*" was their leader, and that every white man's house and property was to be destroyed, in order to force them into the towns, with their wives and families, and that the last effort was to be a simultaneous attack on all the towns, by every negro in the island, when the houses were to be set on fire, the males slaughtered, and the females taken as wives to the principal leaders and officers of the insurrection. No doubt seemed to be entertained of their accomplishing this design, as they were convinced the governor and king's troops were *on their side*, and would *not fight against them*. The Woodstock slaves were almost all Baptists, and acknowledged they had punctually attended the Montego Bay Chapel, for the purpose of hearing about their freedom. They added, that Mr. B——ll, and Mr. K——bb, the preachers, as well as others who occasionally held forth at their chapel, had plainly told them they were actually free; that the white people alone kept them in slavery; that about Christmas there would be a star fixed to one corner of the moon, which was to be a signal to them that all labour for the whites was to cease; because, if they disregarded these injunctions, and went to work for only one single day after Christmas, they

never could again have a chance of freedom, and would for ever remain in bondage. On leaving them, we pointed out the danger of their pursuing the course directed by the rebels, and cautioned them against following such advice, as the consequences must be fatal.

The scene before us was truly distressing : on one side, near the pile of smoking ruins, lay such of the furniture as had escaped the awful conflagration; and, at a short distance further, might be seen dozens and dozens of bottled liquors and wines, several half barrels of salt pork and beef, kegs of butter, tongues, peas and barley, boxes of soap and candles, barrels of herrings, and casks of spirits.

One woman informed us, that, in order to save as much of her master's and young mistress's valuable property as possible, she had secured, in her own negro house, his plate, and some trinkets, &c. which the brigade-major promised to send for on the following day, for further security, but I never heard that he was able to obtain it. Indeed, it was truly heart-rending to see all the good old gentleman's Christmas delicacies in the possession and at the mercy of a lawless crew, while himself and family had been compelled to desert their comfortable home, and seek refuge at Montego Bay. While witnessing this scene, the rain fell in torrents, and before we had again reached the main road, every individual of the party was drenched to the skin; the day was now waning fast, and as we had many miles to ride through a dreary pass, deeply wooded on both sides, it would have been neither a proof of courage or prudence to have delayed our return, when no good end could have been gained, and

particularly as there happened to be innumerable ravines and fastnesses, perfectly impassable to those travelling on the road, from which much execution could have been done on the party by a concealed enemy, and with entire impunity. The rain descended faster and faster, and we had not proceeded more than three miles from Woodstock, when we met a trooper, (a dragoon,) who delivered a dispatch to the commanding officer, stating that Y. S. estate had been set on fire, and that, beside Ginger Hill works being burnt to the ground, the overseer, Mr. A——d, had been placed in durance vile by the negroes on the property.

The reader will remember, *this latter event* has been slightly mentioned in a former page, but will now be explained. Our nags were put to their utmost speed, and we soon reached N. S——h, the district head-quarters, when the major-general having ascertained that Captain S——e, of the St. Elizabeth's militia, with his company, had already marched from Lacovia, to Y. S. sent directions for him to proceed immediately to the rescue of Mr. A——d. Not a moment was lost; and although the rain continued during the remainder of the evening, this high spirited young man, with a part of his company reached the property unperceived. The fact was, that the rebels having (as they conceived) well barricaded the principal entrance to the works, and not dreaming that "*buckra would trouble them during such terrible weather,*" had prepared a grand supper, in the enjoyment of which they were busily employed, when compelled precipitately to retreat, by reason of the unwelcome and unexpected advance of Captain S's. party. It must

here be remarked, that the island militia is not only composed of every white man, as before described, but of all free browns and blacks capable of bearing arms, some of whom, and particularly the latter, having been *slaves themselves*, were still in the habit of *living like them*, when at home ; consequently, the savoury viands and well cooked vegetables, thus abandoned by the scared renegades, proved a delicious meal to some of their cold and dripping pursuers, who, from the celerity with which the marching order had been executed, had been disappointed of their usual mess at their late quarters. To describe the joy evinced by the poor prisoner, on finding himself thus suddenly delivered from certain massacre, is quite impossible. His power of expression seemed for a time to be suspended, but, when sufficiently recovered to furnish details, he made the following disclosure:—A few evenings previous, while sitting alone, he found his room half filled with negro men, who informed him that, as they were going to burn down the works, he must remain quietly as their prisoner, and not attempt to escape from that room ; that they meant to do him no harm, but would place sentries at the doors and round the house. Having no alternative, he was compelled to comply ; but, after some time, it seems, they determined on burning the overseer's house also, and therefore carried him away blindfold, to a strong negro house on the property, where he remained in confinement, duly guarded, until relieved. The works and every thing were of course demolished. A little clothing had been left for Mr. A——d, and his supply of food was scanty indeed. He imagined their intention was to have starved

him to death, as the negroes had informed him that they meant *to shed no blood*, if they found they could accomplish their object without it; but starving to death, or securing a person to a bedstead, and then setting the house on fire, so that he would burn to death, was not shedding blood. It is hardly necessary to say, that not a negro was to be found on the place, excepting, as usual, the diseased, aged, and infirm, or children, with here and there an old woman or two, in whose charge no doubt the younger ones had been left.

Day after day the militia penetrated into the heart of the disturbed districts; but, from the mode of warfare adopted by the rebels, their incursions produced little effect, further than now and then a straggler taken by the parties, or a few shots received by the militia from ambuscades. In the mean time, a company of the 77th, under the command of Major W——n, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, and about eighty men, landed at Black River, from the Rose sloop-of-war, Captain P——n. For the first night, they were lodged in the church, and marched into the interior on the following morning. The Blanche frigate, Commodore F——r, had also proceeded to Montego Bay with a stronger detachment of the line: but of the latter we shall presently speak.

Intelligence was now received that the rebels had mustered in considerable force, at their strongest post, called Greenwich Hill, and amounted to about three thousand altogether: from which body some detachments were occasionally sent to burn properties at night; and others to be in ambush during the day, along secure parts of the road, for the purpose

of picking off the military as they proceeded from one place to another in search of them. In order to check the progress of this well planned scheme, it was decided that the whole of the detachment at N. S——h, with those in the immediate neighbourhood, should advance towards the rebel camp, soon after sun-set, stopping short of it about a mile, and then make the attack at sun-rise the next day.

To those unacquainted with the nature of the country, the vigilance of the negro, and the extreme danger of the night dew to an European, this movement will only appear an ordinary one ; but the fact is, although judiciously planned, it proved most fortunate that another circumstance prevented its being carried into effect ; as it was afterwards ascertained, that having, by some means, (never yet found out by the whites,) become aware of the intended attack, the camp had been fixed on a part of the hill quite inaccessible to the assailants, excepting on one side, across which a low wall had been most industriously erected, which in its range included, at certain distances, some fine trees with large trunks. Each tree would afford shelter to two or three marksmen, and in the spurs of these trees were cut deep notches, on which their guns might securely rest, and which would ensure a perfect and unerring aim. A little higher up, in some of the wide spreading trees, were platforms fixed, as a station for the surest shots, who, being supplied with rifles, and sheltered by the branches and foliage, had orders to commence as soon as the military advanced within rifle shot, to pick off the officers, and those apparently in command, particularly.

On eminences, within the circuit of about half a mile all around Greenwich Hill, were posted videttes, whose duty it was, immediately on the approach of the whites, to return by their private pass, (track,) and give information as to its probable strength, and by whom commanded. In imitation of former days, when danger was anticipated, a prayer was said by the chief, (Samuel Sharp,) who held the double capacity of captain-general and high priest, and from him all orders emanated. Being aware, however, that they could not stand against the whites in an open encounter, a tolerably secure flight was arranged for themselves, by means of passes cut along the back and sides of the hill, down which they could retreat, but up which no mortal could make way. They were only broad enough for one to travel or drop at a time, but were numerous; and no entrance appearing from the camp, it was a perfect safety to them when once in the path. On thus dispersing through the woods, they had merely to lie quietly till night fall, and then proceed to the northward, which they knew full well would inevitably lead them to some part of the "Great River," after which they could seek the nearest rendezvous. The circumstance alluded to, which fortunately prevented the undertaking of this hazardous expedition, was, that a slight skirmish had occurred on the road, near a settlement called Stracy, in which a private of the militia named, B—l—rs, had been shot, and two or three rebels killed or made prisoners; that a large well armed body had taken post at Stracy, fortified the barbiques, and, from its commanding situation, completely intercepted the communication between Montego Bay and Black River.

It being of the utmost consequence to preserve this intercourse uninterrupted, a detachment from N. S. under Captain F——n, was now ordered out to dislodge the insurgents. On their route, an occasional bullet or slug whistled among the party, or over their heads; but no damage was done, except a horse severely wounded, until the attack commenced on the fortified part of the barbicues, when a hot fire was maintained by both parties, during which a ball entered the neck of Captain F——n, and, passing the collar-bone, took an oblique direction, and lodged near the shoulder-blade. The place was, however, carried, and some prisoners taken, and a few rebels killed, with only four men of the detachment wounded. These, with a guard, returned to N. S. and having reported the transaction, the brigade-major immediately sent medical aid, and a proper vehicle, to carry Captain F—— for their the district head-quarters at N. S., where he remained for months, until sufficiently recovered to proceed to his own house, during the whole of which period the wounded gentleman experienced extreme care, attention, comfort, and hospitality from the liberal-hearted host and hostess. Of course, a strong guard was left at Stracy, and the rebels' rude fortifications at once demolished.

It was astonishing to observe what sagacity had been displayed by these beings in the selection of their positions, not only in this instance, but in many others, as they invariably availed themselves of such as commanded a full view of the hostile approaches, and a secure, but concealed retreat for themselves, with a supply of water, and ground provisions; invariably constructing impediments to

each entrance. In this case, Stracy possesses every advantage, with the addition of its being on a hill, within gun-shot of the roads to Montego Bay, to Black River, Barnyside, &c.; for there are not only fine provision-grounds all around it, but a large penna property close at hand, called Cow-park, where they invariably obtained cattle and sheep at pleasure. It was, probably, at the instance of their captain (M'Cail) that this place was fixed on for the detachment, he having belonged to Mr. Angus M'Cail, whose residence, called Prospect, was situated on a sister hill to Stracy, and only a trifling walk from it, consequently he was aware of every creek and corner in that neighbourhood, and knew how to ~~they~~ counsel of their advantages. Colonel M'Cail; make water) had commanded the Western interior to travel on but, having died a few months previous no entrance, his servant (the rebel here alluded to as captain) had possessed himself of his master's military accoutrements, and also a quantity of ammunition and blank cartridge deposited in the store while his master held the command; and which was, according to the island law, served out to every man previous to all general inspections. These facts were all acknowledged by the miscreant himself, when subsequently taken, and tried for rebellion. He was, of course, executed, and his head stuck upon a pole, with others, in the immediate vicinity of his depredations. He also confessed that he was the individual who actually burnt down his master's house. During these events, the officers of the Rose rendered every assistance in their power, and offered to undertake, or aid with men, any enterprise for the general benefit.

By those on whom it devolved to regulate the military movements, it had been decided that the most judicious and effective mode of attacking the general camp at Greenwich Hill, would be by bombardment, and one cannon being deemed sufficient for the occasion, *two jolly tars*, from the *Rose*, volunteered for the service of working the gun. Four companies of the St. Elizabeth regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel F—g—n, and three of the Westmoreland regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel W—s, were ordered for the duty, accompanied by two sailors, with the six pounder. The two columns commenced their march from their different stations, at such hours as would ensure their meeting on the appointed spot at the stipulated period. This end accomplished, due caution was observed on their junction, and a circuitous (because sheltered) route chosen for their advance to the scene, where they anticipated nothing but a most decisive termination to the insurrection, by the entire and complete demolition of this their strongest hiding-place. Strange, however, to relate, not the slightest opposition was manifested. The barricades still remained as before, but were immediately overthrown by the assailants, without molestation. The works of defence appeared perfect as hitherto; but no shot was returned on their removal. Barrier after barrier was surmounted, and all that was an apparent obstruction levelled, until the eminence was fairly gained, when the only individual who appeared was a lame old negro woman, who had, as it seemed, been one of many employed in cooking the numerous iron pots of provisions, with which she was surrounded, as a

breakfast, for the whole of the rebel encampment. From her extraordinary non chalance, and evident unconcern at the approach of those who might have been deemed unwelcome as well as unexpected visitors, a feeling of suspicion that all was not right at once entered the breasts of the principal officers.

Treachery was anticipated, although the ground seemed perfectly clear. All they could extract from the woman was, that she and others were engaged in cooking the breakfast for the rest, while prayers were going on; but that, on a sudden, one of their spies came in with information that two regiments and some big guns were close to them, and coming up secretly, on which the whole of the negroes had fled, she knew not where, but that she with her lame feet could not get down the passes, and therefore made up her mind to deliver herself up to the buckras for pardon. Although this tale was delivered in the most plausible manner, (of which the negro is very capable) it was by no means satisfactory to some who had narrowly watched her motions. To them it appeared extraordinary, that she was more than necessarily anxious to stir every pot by turns, notwithstanding her lameness, which, in itself, would have been a sufficient excuse for her resting in one place, while answering the questions put to her. At length the idea of poison suggested itself, and, on being closely pressed, and threatened with immediate annihilation if she persisted in uttering falsehoods, she abandoned the prevarication she had throughout adopted, and confessed that every pot had been poisoned as a trap for the military, as soon as they found it was impossible for them to consume the contents, and effect a retreat.

In corroboration of her statement, and as a proof that she now spake the truth, neither threats nor promises could induce her to partake of the victuals herself; as she said there was poison enough in each pot to kill the strongest man who should merely make of it a slight meal. Seeing all was over with herself, if more falsehood was detected, she confessed that the main body had been greatly reduced of late, by parties being sent out to Stracy, Barnyside, Cow Park, Ginger Hill, and various other places: also, that hearing the "regulars" were coming to attack them, instead of the militia, many had hid themselves entirely in the woods; but that a great many were secreted in a cave not very far off, which, after some persuasion, she pointed out. She subsequently asserted, that the approach of the regulars had broken up the camp; but that poisoning the pots was afterwards planned. The militia party being too strong for a quiet advance, a detachment proceeded towards the cave, and with it one of the sailors, carrying a blunderbuss, insisted on going: his name was Green, but the men had affixed to him the nautical appellation of Jack. On their road to the cave they surprised a few run-away negroes, belonging to the lately dispersed camp; but from the ruggedness of the place, were only able to secure two. These were bound together and put in charge of Jack, who at first brought up the rear with his prisoners, but on nearing the cave, he claimed a right to board the pirate first—for thus he termed the cave.

Before this was granted, a shot was fired from the cave, which struck the ground close to the foot of one of the officers, and was immediately returned

at random, by one of the militia-men. It was natural to conclude that a fierce resistance would be offered; but at this moment the cave's mouth was blocked up by aspirants to the first entry, nor could it be decided to whom the credit should be awarded. All, however, was quiet, and not a living soul could be found: one dead negro lay extended a short distance from the entrance, but evidently not the victim of the shot from outside. This attempt was no doubt hazardous, and much time elapsed before torches could be procured, which were found indispensable, in consequence of the profound darkness of the cave. Although the space within might be termed extremely capacious, yet there were parts of it so low as to compel almost a creeping posture, while others were full nine or ten feet high. By the aid of a host of torches, this hidden recess was thoroughly investigated; but with no other result than that all its late inhabitants had made good a clandestine retreat, through apertures at the opposite extremity, which had been carefully filled up with logs and brushwood, as soon as the cave was evacuated, in order to prevent the admission of day-light. During this search, the fugitives, (as they themselves had correctly anticipated,) were effecting a secure departure down the side of a rocky declivity, covered with heavy timber, and their flight was completely masked by the foliage of the luxuriant underwood.

It happened, however, that some of the party in pursuit were adepts in the chase, and skilful in hog-hunting, which requires an acute ear, great agility, and a quick aim. Two or three of these men having penetrated beyond their companions, discovered a party of the flying rebels, as they were

proceeding with more than ordinary celerity through the glen beneath, and up the acclivity on the opposite side. As they paid no attention to a call from their pursuers, it became necessary to fire upon them, by which two were wounded and made prisoners, but the remainder escaped, it being utterly impracticable for any but a negro intimately acquainted with the place to penetrate twenty yards in almost as many minutes. The two prisoners previously taken and given in charge of sailor Jack, on finding him determined to be the first man in the cave, had managed, during his temporary absence, to loose their bonds; and, on his return to resume his charge, he found them stealing, unfettered, through the brush-wood at some distance from the cave's mouth. Thus to lose his charge, would have been a disgrace he could not permit; but, being unwilling to damage them, if they would listen to his commands, he fixed himself in the best spot for a parley, and began with "*Avast there, Blackee, heave-to directly, or I'll soon make you back your main-topsail!*" No notice being taken of his summons, and fully aware that a moment now lost, must put it out of his power to regain his charge, he took a deliberate aim, just as both run-aways were in conjunction striving to pass between the trunks of two large trees, and dropped them to the ground. On reaching the fugitives, he found one wounded in the back, and the other in the neck, but the latter was more frightened than hurt. By this time, the rest of the detachment came up, and all returned to head-quarters, excepting the party belonging to Stracy, who again took up their former position.

On the following day, the officers and men in this station were highly amused with a spectacle which they could not have even anticipated being witnesses to, and which was neither more nor less, than a review of the rebel troops by their second in command, (Colonel Gardiner) on the beautiful pastures of a property called Cow-Park, which, from the heights of Stracy, are plainly perceptible. It must here be noticed, that, from the prisoners taken the previous day, it had been elicited, that when assembled at Greenwich Hill, in the greatest force, they had received information of an intended attack from the northward by the King's troops, and from the southward, by the St. Elizabeth's and Westmoreland militia. Being aware that such an arrangement would defeat their usual object, viz. a safe retreat, if overpowered, they held a council of war, at which it was decided that, during the night, previous to the meditated movement against them, the first should be cautiously abandoned for another, equally eligible, yet not quite so inaccessible, at Cow Park, but that a party of women should be left to cook a *poisoned breakfast*, which they deemed would have even a more fatal effect on their assailants, than any opposition they could make. Calculating, probably, on the occurrence at Ginger Hill.

To carry on the deception more successfully, it was determined that every fortification and barricade should remain in "*statu quo*," so that the trick should not be discovered until the latest moment, because this would have the double effect of employing time, and fatiguing the military by a circuitous, rugged, and tremendously steep ascent to the summit of a lofty hill, under a broiling sun. The

reader is already aware, that all the schemes succeeded, except poisoning the troops. The lines and companies of militia, from the north side, intended for this service, had been called to different duties, and had broken up several camps while these occurrences were taking place, as will hereafter be narrated. The distance, (in a direct line,) from Stracy to Cow Park, cannot be more than three miles, although considerably further by the winding road, consequently, by the aid of a spy-glass, the movements of the rebels, assembled in prodigious numbers at the latter place, could be distinctly perceived.

The ruler, chief, and general, Samuel Sharp, seemed not to take any active part in the military department. This devolved on Colonel Gardiner, who was seen riding backwards and forwards on a white steed, exercising, in his own person, the various commissions of commander, major of brigade, aid-de-camp, and adjutant. He wore a red jacket, with cocked hat and feather. By the velocity of his movements, the frequency of his addresses, and the animation with which they were delivered, he appeared to be encouraging his companions to the performance of mighty deeds, and impressing them, alternately, with the necessity of remaining steadfast in the cause in which they had embarked, and the imminent danger of desertion. As far as could be judged, at so great a distance, there seemed a general consent to the purport of his harangues. There was subsequently a mark set up, at which some firing took place; and it appeared as if the most successful were then appointed captains in charge of different squads, stationed in various parts of the pasture.

Such was their temerity at this period, that they even sent parties to the provision grounds in the immediate vicinity of Stracy, although a captain's detachment was posted there, and actually succeeded in carrying off a prodigious quantity before they were discovered, when only one woman and two men could be secured, notwithstanding the most indefatigable exertions were used by the party, who pursued them while day-light lasted. It seemed the woman, whose name was Susan, was a slave belonging to Stracy, and had been sent with a foraging party as a guide, she being well acquainted with the whole of the provision ground, and, of course, was well aware of the most eligible spot for procuring the best, as well as the secret passes that led to and from the premises. On her apron were marked the following *elegant* couplet:

“ My heart is fix'd, I cannot change,
I love my choice, too well to range.”

Eager as the Stracy party were to make an attack, although considerably too weak to effectually rout so large a body as that in possession of the Cow Park pastures and adjacent woods, their wishes were frustrated, by an advance, in another direction, of a strong militia force from St. James's and Westmoreland, who had the satisfaction of not only forcing them to evacuate their second apparently secure post, but also succeeded in destroying a great many, and taking several prisoners, most of whom were tried, executed, and their heads stuck upon poles.

This signal defeat of the rebels was very opportune; for, a few days previous thereto, a large armed party had suddenly surprised, at night, a

detachment of the St. James's Militia stationed at a place called "The Barracks," under the command of Colonel G——n, who absolutely deemed it prudent to retire for awhile, until a reinforcement should arrive; but the colonel's subsequent conduct proved that he had only done a prudent act, in the first instance, (although it gave the rebels a temporary cause of exultation,) in order more effectually to avail himself of his ability to overthrow a much larger force than that which assailed him.

While relating the progress of the rebellion in this particular district of these parishes, (Westmoreland and Trelawny,) it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader with some of the acts committed by this lawless banditti, as he will be then convinced that such miscreants could expect no lenity, as they showed none to such as unfortunately fell in their power.

Independent of the militia force belonging to the former parish, there had been a kind of independent company formed at Savannah-le-Mar by the collector of the customs, an enterprising and spirited young man, who, by virtue of his office, was free from militia duty, but whose anxiety for the public good prevented his remaining idle. Mr. E——n had associated with himself, under sanction of the authorities, about twenty-five individuals similarly situated, with whom he rendered service wherever it was most needed. Sometimes, for the protection of the town, or private property; at others, as an escort of prisoners; and also as a scouring party through the woods. By some means, a rumour had reached his ears that several white females had fallen into the hands of the rebels, and were still

actually secreted in the woods. Nothing further could be learnt, excepting a tolerably correct statement of the direction in which they might be discovered, if still alive.

As Mr. E——n humanely considered that every minute's delay must be an hour to the wretched beings, he collected as many of his party as were then disengaged, to the number of about fifteen or sixteen, and proceeded a great distance through the woods in the direction described.

It would be useless to enumerate the manœuvres practised by this small band, in order to prevent the defeat of the object in view, by an exposure of themselves, conversing, or in any other way that might acquaint the rebels of their presence and errand. Fortunately, however, with such celerity, accuracy, and caution, was this expedition conducted, that they met no interruption or occurrence until they unexpectedly stumbled on a spring, called in Jamaica, a *water-hole*. The delight experienced by a party of beings parched with thirst, and who had since their departure from home enjoyed no means of quenching it, was nevertheless considerably heightened by seeing a basket near the water-hole, containing three or four large gourds, which had just been filled with water, and another lying down, which had evidently been hastily abandoned by its owner while in the act of filling. The thing spoke for itself, and in an instant each individual dashed into the wood, in different directions, to find the water carrier. The effort succeeded, and a negro-woman was brought from her hiding-place, who, on being closely questioned by Mr. E——n, pretended great penitence, acknowledging that she

had long ago left her owner's service, without leave or cause, but (having been out so long) denied any knowledge of the insurrection. Said she had heard that all of them were to be free as soon as Mr. B—ll, the Baptist parson, returned from England, and thought there was no harm in taking her freedom a little before the time appointed.

On being asked why she required so much water, and if she was living in the woods entirely by herself, ever ready with a lie, she seemed at no loss for a reason, and immediately answered, that she was that day washing all her clothes, and wished to carry plenty of water at once for the purpose.

Luckily for the females, as it afterwards proved, just at this moment one of the party recognised the woman, and told Mr. E——n that she belonged to one of those whose name had been stated as under confinement. On closer examination, her prevarications became so glaring, as to induce Mr. E——n to bind her hands and keep her as a prisoner, threatening to have her tried as a rebel, if she did not immediately conduct them to the spot where the white people were detained.

She apparently became intimidated, and promised to do so. They followed her for some time, but remarked that she carefully avoided every path that appeared to have been much traversed, and invariably took such as seemed to be newly out and little trod.

At length they passed one somewhat wider than the rest, but the entrance to it had been strongly barricaded with newly-cut logwood branches. Not a word was said, and there was no notice taken of it; but, after proceeding about one hundred yards

beyond it several of the party insisted that voices had been heard at a little distance within the wood, when they were abreast of the newly blocked up path. She affirmed that it was quite impossible, as she knew every track in the neighbourhood, and the logwood had been cut by herself and placed there, to prevent stray cattle from destroying her small provision ground, which they had latterly been in the habit of doing. This seemed a plausible reason, and was allowed due weight.

The party proceeded for a short distance further; but the commander becoming somewhat sceptical, in consequence of the barefaced manner in which she had maintained her former prevarications, caused a halt, when, on consultation, it was resolved, at any rate, to return and explore the mystery.

On this determination being made, a pistol was held to the head of the woman, who immediately implored mercy, and, falling on her knees, acknowledged that she belonged to a strong party of well-armed rebels, to *whose retreat* (called a "cockpit") *she had been all along conducting them*, knowing that so small a number would be without difficulty sacrificed before they could retrace their steps: she said they were now within a quarter of a mile of the place, and a few minutes more would have done what she meditated.

She confessed that the entrance blocked up with newly cut logwood led to the place where the white females were secured, and that it was their voices which had been overheard by the party after passing the place. She further added, that they had already been five days and nights under

charge of the negro sentries, because the rebel party had been so much engaged in burning and plundering other places, and watching the movements of the military, so as to pick them off along the road side, as they passed from one spot to another, but that to-morrow was the day positively fixed, on which the white females in confinement were to be carried off, and become the wives of the black men for ever.

Shuddering at this relation of facts, not an instant was lost in repairing to the dreadful prison. They hastened along the narrow pass, with the wretch in front as their guide; the barricade was quickly destroyed, and in less than a hundred yards, a dilapidated out-house appeared, which had formerly been used as a sheep-penn. The scene which now broke on their view beggars all description; consequently the reader must deem it but slightly sketched, when he learns that this miserable hovel, scarcely a protection from rain or sun, had been for nearly a week the lonesome and loathsome bastille of fifteen white females, who were now seen sitting and lying about the place, with scarcely clothing enough to cover them with decency, half-famished, and greatly emaciated. No pen can describe the forlorn condition of these disconsolate women, or express their feelings on first beholding the countenances of their deliverers. So completely had they deemed themselves out of the power of release, and with such mental agony had they viewed their future prospects, if death should not previously put an end to their degradation and sufferings, that some were barely conscious of the sudden change in their state; others of more masculine temperament, rent

the air with acclamations of joy for their preservation, mingled with screams of horror produced by the recollection of what *was to have been their fate*; while a third portion appeared phrenzied in their demonstrations of gratitude for so signal, so unexpected, and so fortuitous a deliverance. Of course, it is needless to add, that long before the party reached the spot, the rebel sentries had made their escape, and also their late guide.

It is now time to state, that the unfortunates consisted of Mrs. J——s, and some unmarried sisters, Mrs. M——s, her sister-in-law, and two nieces, and the remainder were cousins and neighbours, who had fled to the house of Mr. J——s for shelter, their own premises being attacked and fired by the rebels.

The following is an account, furnished by themselves, when sufficiently collected to supply the detail of their sad adventures. Mr. J——s, and Mr. M——s, were two small settlers, and married men, residing at no great distance from each other in the woods. The latter, with his wife and nieces, had been spending the Christmas holidays with the former, who was the more substantial man; but, hearing of the breaking out of the rebellion, and being fully aware that his own negroes were a very bad set, remained for security with Mr. J——s, his neighbour, knowing the unprotected state and lonely situation of his own residence, would admit of their becoming an easy prey to the rebels, who had commenced burning in all directions around them.

The females of two other families in the vicinity, (the males being out with the militia,) finding themselves liable to the most dreadful consequences, had

sought protection with Mr. J——s, being aware that, at any rate, there would be two males in the house. But wofully, indeed, were their sanguine hopes of protection frustrated. All these residences then, being thus entirely deserted, were burnt to the ground without opposition; but, from Mr. J——s's house being in the heart of the woods, the inhabitants there were unconscious at what exact period the demolition took place. One night, however, the males were bold enough to visit the places, and, strange to say, were permitted to return in safety, after satisfying themselves that all was burnt down. Mr. M——s was a man of rather weakly frame, and, feeling fatigued, went to his chamber and threw himself on his bed, to obtain a little rest, his nieces accompanying him to hear the sad tale of *their all* being devoured by the flames. Mrs. J——s and Mrs. M——s were employed in the cook-room, (kitchen,) at the back of the house, assisting in the preparation of their dinner; and Mr. J——s had taken a chair, on which he seated himself outside of the front door. About one hundred feet from this position, was a small low wall, which divided the premises from the deep wood, and from this wall Mr. J——s, in a very short period after being seated, received a mortal gun-shot wound. On hearing the report, the wives hurried out, and found the house in a moment surrounded by negroes, some of whom were employed in finishing their victim, while others were demanding entrance to Mr. M——s. His nieces, on the first alarm, had locked the bed-room door, but his remark was—“*Open it, they want me, its all over, and I'm a dead man.*” At that moment he was shot through the jalousie, or window,

and spoke no more. Flames were then applied to every part of the house and out-offices, when the barbarians chopped the already mangled corpses, and committed them to the devouring element, with execrations, in presence of all the females. Mrs. M——s had her thigh broken, or dislocated, in consequence of the exertions she made to save the remains of her husband from further insult.

While all this was proceeding, the females were hurried away to their future place of confinement, at a little distance from the house, and placed under charge of three armed negroes. The party then carried off as much liquor and provisions as they could, leaving only a small portion for the use of the sentries and prisoners, also a woman to furnish them with water and scanty meals. The buildings continued burning until nothing remained. The sentries were changed every day, which proved the camp was not far off; and it will be supposed, the conduct of these brutes was in unison with the designs they and their associates in crime had formed. Prior to quitting these premises, the ring-leaders apprised the females that they were daily in expectation of a grand battle with the whites, after which they would come and take them away as their wives.

Day after day had they existed in this miserable suspense; but the previous one had brought them the appalling information, that the rebel threat would be carried into execution on the following morning, when Mr. E——s's providential rescue prevented its accomplishment. The poor lame woman was carried by the party, and the rest joyfully walked until they reached the spot where the

horses had been left, and it was yet fifteen or sixteen miles further, ere they could reach Savannah-le-Mar. Every care and attention were shown to the unfortunate sufferers, and the party received the credit and congratulations they so richly merited. These occurrences were related rather differently, in some trifling respects, at first; but this seems the most authentic narrative, and is as subsequently reported by themselves.

We now return to the rebel camp, which had been so completely dispersed at Cow Park. After an event so discouraging to their future plans, it is natural to conclude, that some time would elapse before the rebels could again concentrate; we must, however, bear in mind, that as night is always the time preferred by the negro for his depredations, conspiracies, or evil doings, so it is the precise period that the European cannot act with advantage, because the night dews are so dangerous and prejudicial to the health of the latter, while the former seems, by nature, rendered entirely proof against them. Nor can the white man withstand the furious attacks of the venomous wood musquitoes, that assail him in countless numbers the moment he seats himself to rest his weary limbs, while the impenetrability of the negro cutaneous covering defies their incessant advances. With whatever degree of contempt we may be inclined to treat the mode of warfare pursued by this demi-savage race of beings, we must allow, that it was most provoking, harassing, and at times successful. We must also admit that their schemes had been well organized, almost invariably providing against the consequences of a failure in any particular attempt, by a

certain and well planned mode of secure retreat. During these operations, and availing themselves of the absence of the troops from St. Elizabeth's, the contagion began rapidly to spread, and very many properties decidedly struck work. Here then is a convincing proof of one of the numerous inconsistencies to be found in the militia law. On the services of that force being required, as it embraces every white, and every free man of color, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, all properties are necessarily at once deprived of those individuals who are the only check on the negro; consequently, every thing is left at his mercy, for can it be supposed or believed, even should the head negro (denominated "driver") be inclined to carry on the work of the plantation or estate, that his fellows would be of the same mind, when there is no absolute authority (according to their ideas) vested in him, excepting at such time as it is backed by the white man's presence. Indeed, at Chester Castle, and some other places, where this attempt to resist them was made, the head negro was invariably either without ceremony destroyed, or severely punished, until he consented to resign his controul, and offer no opposition.

Two instances, however, may be recorded to the contrary, although, perhaps, the reason palliative may give a somewhat different colouring to the cases themselves. At Appleton estate, in St. Elizabeth's, the head driver was an old and faithful negro, but extremely powerful in mind, as well as in body. His disposition was thoroughly known to his companions, as determined and ferocious. The overseer, a young gentleman of extremely delicate

frame, good feeling, and mild management, but labouring under an internal disease that shortly afterwards proved fatal, remained on the estate, from his perfect inability to perform militia duty.

He called the driver, reasoned with him, and pointedly stated, that, as he should trust implicitly to his (the driver's) authority for the estate's work being carried on, now was his time to prove whether or not he merited the character for fidelity to his old master's interest that was imparted to him. The negro's emphatic reply was, " Massa, dem shall work." He was a wealthy negro, having from his good conduct been always kept in some money-making situation, and had besides received various indulgences. He possessed fire-arms, as well as cattle and funds. The Appleton people knew this, and knew that he would use both to carry his point if necessary. He had also numberless poor but well behaved relatives among them, who acted as spies, and prevented the possibility of a conspiracy being formed against himself. He *did* carry on the work, with only a few desertions, and in consequence received a reward from the House of Assembly for his exemplary conduct, and a silver cup sent out from England, by his masters there resident.

The other case is that of a small property in Westmoreland, called Hopewell, belonging to Mr. Samuel S——e. The head driver, for some time, marched round the house himself at night, well armed, and slept during the day, watched and guarded by his wife, but it was eventually fired, and totally consumed. In the parish of St Eliza-
beth, as yet but few fires had taken place, in consequence of the prudent and judicious distribution

made by the major-general, of the forces under his command, and by reason of the open face of the country, there being so much level land occupied in extensive Guinea grass and common pastures, cane-fields, and savannah; still, the spirit of insubordination exhibited itself in various instances, and few indeed were the proprietors who could boast that their people were all quietly at their work. Indeed, many of the negroes themselves did not hesitate to confess that they were only waiting to see how the disturbed districts were likely to succeed; for, in the event of a favourable result, all were of one mind, and all would cease work as it came to their turns. In short, matters had arrived at such a pitch, that no white person ever thought of proceeding from one place to another, without being well armed with both sword and pistol.

On the borders of St. Elizabeth, but just within the line of Manchester parish, is a penn property, called "New Forest," on which are about one hundred and fifty slaves. The proprietor being a major in the militia, was, of course, called to his duty the moment it was ascertained that an insurrection had broken out. This residence being about seventy miles from the place where the commencement of the burning was perceived, it will not be wondered at, that his wife, a lady of firm mind, experienced no particular fears or anxiety at being left at home as usual. On the next morning to that on which the people should have returned to work after the holidays, she was not more surprised than confounded at the following occurrence. While sitting on the sofa, with her needle-work before her on the table, as was her usual custom after breakfast,

the head driver most unceremoniously walked into the room with a red jacket on, and a hat and feather on his head. As, however, it was the first day after that in which the Christmas holidays ought to have ceased, she fancied that another day had been granted to the people, and that the individual before her was merely come to show how well he looked in his merry making garb; she therefore accosted him thus, but probably with some trifling difference of words:—"Well, driver! I see you're a soldier to day!" "Oh! yes ma'am, (at another time it would have been 'Missus,') we be all soldier now." "Then you don't turn out (that means, go to work) till to morrow, I suppose." "Oh yes, ma'am, we all turn out on every property all over de island." "I don't understand you, driver." "No, ma'am, me tell you de plain trute." On this, he coolly seated himself on the sofa with his mistress, which act, of course, terribly alarmed her; but her natural strength of mind upheld her for the time, and she evinced no signs of fear. "Ma'am," he continued, "you no my missus now, we all free. Star come to de corner of de moon, just as Baptist parson tell we; Christmas come, same him say; buckra order we to work; same him tell we; we no for work, else we never get free; we 'blige to burn ebery ting, and take free. All we burning and ebery ting going on well, ma'am. Dem will soon be here, den we for burn dis house and all de works besides on all de properties. Me tink say, ma'am, you neber hearey what going on in St. James." "Why, driver, you astonish me, but it cannot be true; however, I shall soon know, for I expect your master every moment." "True, ma'am, all true,"

said the driver, " ebery estate in St. James' burnt down; and nigger fight buckra two, three time, some kill, great many shoot, ma'am. We sure to gain de day, but I come to see you again bye and bye." During this last speech, he had got up and gradually moved to the door, but, when concluding the sentence, he gave a significant look and shake of the head, which, when combined with the familiarity of his demeanour throughout, gave the lady good reason to prognosticate evil. Her situation may easily be imagined. The only alternative was, a note to her husband; but innumerable difficulties arose as to the mode of conveyance, lest it should be intercepted. At length she fixed on one that fortunately succeeded, and her mind was soon relieved by a removal to a safe retreat. This, and such like facts, will convince the reader what were the ideas and intentions of the negroes, should they have succeeded in their diabolical career.

It was now ascertained that the rebels had made good their quarters at several places in the vicinity of their late defeat, and parties were sent out against those at Barney'side, Mackfield, Prospect, Barracks, and various other properties. Prisoners continued to be forwarded to Savannah-le-Mar, Montego Bay, Black River Lacovia, Y. S., and other places, for trial, and courts martial sat almost daily. Such as were absolutely taken under arms, with the rebels, required little evidence to convict them; but it was astonishing to mark the ingenuity with which many of them set up a defence; and it was dreadful to witness the hardihood with which others would maintain the justice of their cause. One stout able fellow in particular, tried at Black River, charged

with burning down a set of works, and killing a white man, by firing at him over a fence, pleaded Not guilty. The case proceeded, and every fact was indisputably proved by sufficient and competent evidence. The prisoner had also the benefit of the talents of Mr. B——n, the protector of slaves, who, although perfectly confident of the man's guilt, used all his professional skill (as in duty alone bound) to avert his fate. Not satisfied with these, he claimed to be himself heard, and the prayer was at once granted by the court.

There appeared in his countenance and demeanour neither fear nor anxiety, but a perfect confidence in a favourable result, from the moment he commenced his oration till its conclusion, which was nearly to the following effect. "'Cause massa (meaning the presiding judge) and toder buckra gentlemen, (the court and jury,) so good to make me 'peak for myself, me will tell de whole plain trute, case all dem toder nigger tell lie 'pon me, for make dem own case good. Oh! massa, dat boy Bill, him one big lie, me know him from small pick-ninny, him always vile boy, you no for believe him, massa. Him teal, him lie, him teif corn, him neber tend to him work, but all time run-away, and 'tay in de bush tiefing for we cocoa and nyam. Him catch we fowl, den go sell dem to buckra, long distance off. Hie!!! Gentlemen, him too vile, him too much bad for true. Well, massa, me hearee say, dat parson B——ll, parson, K——bb, and parson W——rne, and plenty ob dem at Baptist Chapel, at Montego Bay, tell de niggers dem, dat Wilberforce and de King of England give we free long time, and massa gubna (the governor) have de free paper, but for we, buckra, no will make him

give de paper to we, case dem want we alway for dem slave for eba and eba. Saturday, for we nigger, day before Christmas, me tell Cæsar, say—Cæsar, you no Baptist! Him say, Yes, me Baptist for true. Me say, den, you no hearee, for you parson say we nigger for free aftah Christmas! Him say, Yes, and dem tell we dat if buckra ax we for work we no for work, else we tay slave all we life aftah! dem tell we, no harm to burn house, if buckra force we to work. Dem say, we no for shed blood, but dem say, if buckra tied inside house, and house burn, nigger no shed blood, fire burn him, but nigger know noting 'bout it, fire do what him like. Cæsar, you been to chapel last week; 'Yes, me go and hearee all;' What you hearee? 'Hie! you fool, for true!' him say 'you no sabay, soon Christmas come, daddy ruler Sharp cary ebery body into bush, and make fire burn sugar work and ebery ting, den dere Gardiner, Dove, and plenty more carry on, till all de property in de island burn, den we kill all de buckra-men, and take lady for we wife.'"

With considerable patience the court heard the prisoner thus far, and then directed him to confine his narrative to what he considered might avert his fate, but that he was not to take up the time of the court by stating conversations irrelevant to the case. He seemed as if recollecting himself, and then proceeded.—

"Yes, massa, dat what me fordo, tank massa, sar, just as me telling buckra, dat what Cæsar tell me, so me keep Christmas quite merry; and no tink no harm.—Bym-bye me hearee say, dem burning all about Montego Bay, and Susan tell me busha, (overseer) and book-keeper left de property, and

gone to keep guard, bym-bye 'bout first cock-crow, me sleeping in me niggarr house, dem wake me and tell me say, me must come 'long and burn massa property; me say No; dem say Yes, you for go wid we, or we for ded (kill) you. Captain M'Cail give you orders, and you for come now; dem great many wid gun, some hab sword and muschett, so dem force me hard out, and gib me one fire-stick, and command me for fire busha house. Well, massa, me no could help myself; dem people 'tranger to me, Massa, but when busha house take fire, me see plenty property-people firing de works. So, massa, dem tell lie 'pon me, you see me neba burn de works!" [Here the prisoner evinced great satisfaction from the idea that he had entirely done away with that charge in the indictment, as some of the jurors found difficulty in suppressing their laughter at the ingenuity thus exhibited.] "Bym-bye dem courage me up, Massa, and gib me rum, and tell me say, me for be captain, 'cause me capital shot. Me no know dem name, gentlemen, but just after de day-light come good, one dem call Quashie, hand me for him gun and tell me say, Now, captain, you see book-keeper do come, you for shoot him, else him ride back and tell soldier to come and take we. Me say, No, me no can do for book-keeper, him nebah trouble me, and him gib me fippence last week! Hie, him say, you frighten now, dam you, you no see dis pistol, Colonel Gardiner give me order for shoot you ded, if you no do for book-keeper, and him make you captain so soon you get buckra out of de way. Massa, me frighten him shoot me, him curse me so; den, massa, de liquor take me head, and me tand close to wall; but, massa, dey tell lie again 'pon me,

dere *no fence day*. And, massa, Mr. Smit *no white man*, him fader white man, but him moder quadron. So, massa, gentlemen buckra, you see it all lie, all heap o'lies dem tell; so please make me go back, and I'll tend to my massa work."

The prisoner, on concluding this artful appeal, evinced great gratification, until informed that, had not the indictment been so fully and clearly proved against him by a host of witnesses, his elaborate defence could not in any way avail him, as he was charged with the crime of arson in its general acceptation, which included all burning, also with joining the rebels; and that, although every fence was not a wall, yet every wall must certainly be deemed a fence; and further, that the law of the land recognized as white persons all born of such as the book-keeper's parents. On sentence of death being passed upon him, he totally lost his presence of mind, and was removed in that state.

The command of the Black River district devolved on Colonel J. M——r, a gentleman of the first respectability, and greatly esteemed by the community. Having for many years commanded the St. Elizabeth's regiment, and being the senior magistrate, next to the custos, he was well qualified for the arduous undertaking, and performed the duties both of his civil and military commissions, to the entire satisfaction of the major-general and all under his orders. Colonel M.'s arrangements were highly approved of, and materially tended to afford protection and suppress rebellion.

It has been said, that about this time, prisoners were constantly arriving, from the different out-posts, for the purpose of being tried for their offences;

and, indeed, after the late defeats, they became so numerous, as to render it indispensable that trials should be delayed no longer than was absolutely necessary for the purposes of justice.

To deny that one and all of the deluded wretches attributed their atrocious acts to the doctrine, on the subject of freedom, promulgated by the Baptist missionaries, would be wilfully to shut up our eyes and ears to positive facts, and would also be a complete contradiction to the evidences available to any person doubting this assertion, as proofs are now on record in the island; but it will hereafter be decided, whether or not certain expressions made use of by the preachers, were not *sometimes* too readily taken to imply *more than was originally intended*. Be this as it may, certain it is, that true bills were found against some; and others were compelled to make a precipitate retreat from the island.

It would seem, however, that, from the extraordinary feeling of excitement and indignation that universally prevailed to their prejudice, the authorities adopted the most lenient courses; and, in many cases, avoided proceedings that must inevitably have brought in untoward consequences, merely from a conviction, that while such inveteracy prevailed, (whether justly or otherwise,) there was no absolute necessity to press for convictions.

Till now, the whole body of mild, pious, and unoffending Moravians, had proceeded unmolested in their modest and useful career; but, at last, there was found an individual, a white man of the lowest order of society, who, with the most unblushing effrontery, accused one of the Moravian missionaries,

a German, named P——r, with having openly taught the negroes to believe themselves free; and that none but their masters prevented their being so.

On hearing the alleged charge, he naturally repulsed it with indignation; but as his accuser, a man named S—ps—n, not only persisted in its truth himself, but had procured some negro evidence in corroboration, it became necessary for Mr. P——r to stand a trial. The measures adopted against him were not the most courteous; nor was the treatment he experienced such as he had a right to expect, considering he had not yet been found guilty, or even put upon his trial. To all who were acquainted with the general conduct of the Moravians, and particularly to those who personally knew Mr. P——r, this arrest created the utmost astonishment; but when the name of his accuser was divulged, it appeared to admit of a doubt, whether or not an accusation from such a quarter ought in justice to be noticed. At the trial, however, nothing was proved against Mr. P——r; and not long afterwards his vile accuser was himself taken prisoner, having joined the rebel negroes, and suffered the sentence of the law.

The rebels having made a stand in tolerable force, at a place called Barney's side, were now attacked by a party of militia, and, after a great deal of damage on both sides, were compelled to evacuate, and fly to the woods.

From the nature of the country, the pursuit was rendered extremely perilous, as the district around the property, at least on two sides of the residence, consists of a series of rocky hills, formed of what

is called the *Honey-comb-rock*, which is a very appropriate appellation, as it much resembles the honey-comb in its innumerable cavities; but they are extremely deep, and the divisions are fearfully pointed, so as to preclude the possibility of a passage across. The only mode of traversing such districts, is by carefully insinuating the body between occasional clefts in the rock, and when compelled to pass over a portion of the honey-comb rock, the tough skin of the negro foot is much more applicable to the duty than the flat and slippery sole of the white man's boot or shoe. Another skirmish also took place at Mackfield, and another at the Barracks, from which latter place the rebels were driven into the fastnesses of the mountainous country about the estates called Senen Rivers, Hazlelymph, Cambridge, and Duckett's Spring.

The house at "Prospect," formerly the property of Colonel Angus M'Cail, having sometime since been demolished, no idea was ever entertained that this place would be converted into a rebel post, and particularly as it stood so close to Stracy, now occupied by the militia; notwithstanding this, the site was so eligible for concealment of themselves, for observation of their enemies, and for a precipitate retreat, if necessary, that it absolutely was by them garrisoned for a short time.

From this place emanated all the burning parties that now infested the line to the New Savannah Mountains: Welchpool, Woodstock, Darliston, Clantarf, Hopewell, Richmond Hill, and many others, had fallen a sacrifice in the short space of two nights. But, as the Westmoreland militia, from Haddo, had given a severe lesson to those at Mackfield, so did the

St. Elizabeth's companies, that were stationed in the neighbourhood, give a good account of the Prospect banditti. In this encounter, their chief, Captain M'Cail, after a severe resistance, fled for safety, leaving behind him on the wall which divides Prospect from the road, the identical sword formerly worn by his deceased master, and was closely pursued and secured. In the camp was found plenty of rum, pork, salt-beef, butter, and ground provisions, besides a few small barrels of blank, and some of ball, cartridge; the latter had been evidently manufactured by themselves. The retreat had also been so hasty, that among other arms, two or three old pieces without locks were left behind, which the rebels had been observed to fire by putting lighted sticks to the touch-holes.

Under the firm conviction, that, unless these depredations were speedily suppressed, all chance of bringing the rebellious negroes to a proper sense of their duty would be for ever lost; and all classes being fully aware that, although for a while stifled, the same spirit was ready to burst forth on every property in the island, each free inhabitant endured his share of toil, fatigue, heat, hunger, and thirst, with the utmost willingness; and it was really surprising to see individuals, who had, perhaps, never before lain out of a bed, and who certainly enjoyed every comfort at home, making so light of a little plantain trash, (dry leaves of the plantain tree) on the ground, or hard barbicue, for a bed, with probably no other covering from the noxious night dews, than some branches of underwood piled against each other. Also making a hearty meal on musty coarse ship-biscuit, some Jamaica corned beef, and

a scanty supply of rum-grog. Occasionally, however, the foragers thought it no harm to bring in a stray sheep or calf, in imitation of their rebellious adversaries. Many who had been previously living under loss of appetite, debility, and a variety of other disorders, found them vanish during the campaign of temporary hardships.

Such is the extraordinary material of which man is composed, and such the whimsical and capricious power of the imagination. Indeed, there is no instance recorded, where ill health followed this short sylvan domicile; for the mind was actively employed, as well as the body. No excesses were permitted; and, although a large portion of the militia is composed of a motley group, such was the steady and correct conduct of the officers, that an act of insubordination but rarely occurred. These gentlemen felt satisfied that a great responsibility had devolved on them; and that, although for the present, their wives and families were lodged in safety, either in the towns, or on board the vessels in the different harbours, yet there was one object in the negro insurrection, which would render the lives of the females, should the males be extirpated, more abhorrent than the worst of deaths. Under this impression, no one shunned his duty, none sought to lighten his share of the general undertaking, but each performed with alacrity whatever happened to be allotted him.

And here it is not too much to add, that the major-general not only made the best arrangements possible, but evinced the utmost activity in his movements from one district to another. He not only gave orders, but very often saw them carried

into execution. Fortunately, too, his professional skill, in the medical department, proved sometimes opportune, although gentlemen of the lancet were in sufficient numbers, as is of necessity invariably the case in tropical climates.

Until arriving at this part of the narrative, it has not been possible either to return to Montego Bay, for a detail of incidents there, and in its vicinity, or to travel into more distant parishes, where the fiend of insurrection had unfurled his banner, and occasionally displayed the fiery brand, because such a digression would inevitably have bewildered the negligent reader, and to the attentive one, might have savoured too much of the *novel fashion*, in modern publications, where the imagination is often kept alive by numerous incidents rapidly passing in succession, with but little, or no connection, as balls of different colours flying round in a circle, form a variety, although we perceive the same hue over and over again.

In an early part of this account, it was stated that the *Blanche* frigate, Commodore F——r, had reached Montego Bay with Sir W——y C——n, the commander of the military forces in Jamaica, and several companies of the line, who lost no time in marching into the heart of the disturbed districts. From the rapid and decisive movements of this body, aided by the St. James's militia, the rebels were soon, beyond a doubt, convinced that their information had been *incorrect*, and that the king's troops *would act energetically* against them.

The maroons, too, had become a truly efficient force, and behaved in the most meritorious manner. Being excellent shots, and accustomed to the woods, they proved particularly serviceable in following the

fugitives after a post had been carried. In general, a few maroons were attached to each division of troops, and were found extremely useful as guides, as well as chasers and marksmen. The commodore permitted his men to do duty in the town of Montego Bay at night, which circumstance, added to the exertions of the body denominated "The Town Guard," tended greatly to the preservation of property; it being notorious that, without the utmost vigilance, burning the town was an event nightly to be looked for.

It is a circumstance worthy of being related, that no other building being sufficiently capacious to contain the naval and military temporary defenders of Montego Bay, they were lodged in the Baptist chapel, where, of course, no duty could be performed by the sect, who had (judging by the information elicited from the rebels) been the primary cause of the insurrection. As some cases of intoxication had occurred, and it was quite unaccountable from whence the liquor had been procured, orders were given to search the chapel, when, on inspecting a vault beneath, a great quantity of different kinds of wines and liquors was found, which proved to be the property of Mr. B——ll, the absent preacher. The stock had already been tolerably reduced by clandestine potations; but such was the inveteracy borne by all classes and denominations against the promoters of this unnatural rebellion, that, as soon as the fact was promulgated, there seemed to be no power sufficiently strong to prevent the waste of whatever surplus remained beyond enjoyment. The reader will bear in mind, that all these events had taken place between Christmas and the latter end

of January, as also those about to be narrated, although the scene of action is somewhat different.

The defeat and scatterings of the various masses of rebels at Greenwich Hill, Stracy, Ginger Hill, Barneyside, Prospect, and other places, had not been more effectually performed by the individuals employed, than had those been at Belfast, Lapland, Montpelier, Barracks, Anchovy Bottom, Richmond Hill, and various other strong holds, by the line and militia, on the north side. Indeed, so completely were these wretches hunted and harassed in their turn, that, by degrees, some few appeared returning to their negro-houses, and were idling about the grounds, without, however, any disposition to work. Some of the officers, who were also extensive proprietors, and had been almost ruined by the insurrection, could not tolerate such bravado, particularly as, in many instances, the returning penitent had before received a pardon for his infamous conduct, and had again shamefully decamped to his vile associates. Irritated beyond endurance, and seeing it was the only way to bring the negroes to their senses, they burnt down all the negro houses, on every property they visited, thus paying in kind those remorseless beings who had deprived them and their families of house, home, and at least one year's crop. In these burnings, immense quantities of furniture, salt provisions, liquors, wearing apparel, and other goods, were constantly found, evidently proving that plunder, as well as freedom, and the extirpation of the whites, was the object of the rebellion.

Sir W——y C——n fixed his head-quarters at Montego Bay, but occasionally penetrated into the disturbed country, and fared as the rest. While on

One of these excursions, it was represented to him, by a young gentleman well fitted for the meditated employment, named A. H. B——t, that incalculable benefit might arise from the appointment of a mounted corps, or even troop, of bold and fearless men, whose duty it would be to carry expresses through thick and thin, to undertake the most perilous enterprises, to explore the most hidden and dangerous recesses, and, in short, to perform any thing that dauntless courage and extreme emergency required. They were, at their own expence, to equip themselves in every point, but to receive the usual pay.

On making the application, Mr. B——t informed the major-general, that he then possessed a list of some individuals ready and willing to undertake a particular service, should such an arrangement meet the approbation of Sir W——y C——n, as commander of the military forces. On inquiry, the major-general found that the Cornwall regiment of horse was barely sufficient for the performance of its necessary and ordinary duties, through so vast an extent of country as that comprised in the county of Cornwall. He consequently lent a favourable ear to the application, and sanctioned the raising of one troop, under the name of the "Cornwall Rangers," as applicable to their peculiar service. Mr. B——t received the commission of captain, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; Mr. W——ck, that of lieutenant; Mr. F——t, that of cornet: a medical officer was also appointed, and a few rank and file were immediately raised.

These men were in the constant habit of riding fearlessly (being well armed and mounted) through the very heart of the rebel districts, and never

hesitated to make use of the best horse that fell in their way. Very shortly after the troop was raised, one of their officers informed the writer that he had already ridden three hundred and eighty miles, and tired nine horses. The fatigue to himself, we may presume, must have been almost insupportable in so oppressive a climate. As, in the immediate vicinity of Montego Bay, there were a vast number of sugar estates, all of which had now been completely burnt to the ground, it will readily be believed that the neighbourhood was dreadfully infested with the run-away negroes, who had proceeded no further than into the adjacent woods and thickets, and remained during the day secluded among rocks almost inaccessible, waiting only for the cover of night, again to commence their predatory excursions. Whole bodies of them made a common practice of issuing after night-fall from their haunts, when, in consequence of their numbers and the unprotected state of the suburbs, they invariably succeeded in obtaining a large booty. These wretches displayed the utmost indifference as to the colour or condition of their victims; for they said that all whites were their declared enemies; consequently all blacks or browns must be the same, if they took part with the whites, and this they must be considered as doing, if they did not join the rebels. Their preachers having often read to them this passage, "*He that fighteth not with (or for) me, is against me.*" Various methods were adopted to frustrate their designs, but with no effect; until, at length, the nuisance became intolerable, and it was found that by stratagem alone it could be subdued.

A party was formed, composed of men belonging to the shipping then in the harbour, who, as soon as evening closed, drew two or three guns as silently and privately as possible, to about midway up a hilly road, one of the principal entrances to the town: they then halted, and one half of the party proceeded towards a woody enclosure, about a mile further on, where the rebels were known to be collected in great numbers. No sooner had they reached the spot, than, having convinced themselves that they were perceived, the party raised a shout of "*run! run! the rebels are coming,*" and took to their heels, apparently in the greatest consternation. So grand an event, as that buckra should fly before blackee, afforded fresh courage to the latter, and, as such an opportunity was not to be lost, the most daring of them instantly gave chase. The fugitive party could perceive, from the bustling noise behind, and the variety of yells which accompanied it, that the scheme was succeeding to the fullest extent; they consequently made their retreat in a compact body, until close upon the guns, when, as preconcerted, they filed off to the right and left, leaving the road perfectly clear to the cannons' mouths. One fire from each gun, was, of course, all that could be expected; but, being loaded with grape and every kind of scattering missile, the devastation was immense. Thus many were destroyed, and a great many made prisoners, either from being wounded, or so astounded as to lose the power of flight. The detachment then followed up their manœuvre by pressing into the large encampment, from whence this sortie had been made, and returned with several prisoners.

Although many trials were proceeding daily, the increase of prisoners was so considerable, that it was found necessary to carry the sentences into effect as speedily as possible after condemnation, as the gaols and other places of confinement were becoming extremely unhealthy from their crowded state. In many instances, therefore, criminals were condemned during the morning, and executed between two and four o'clock. But even this summary mode of justice acted not as an intimidation to these revengeful barbarians; for, although from their spies (of which it was well known there was a sufficient quantity always in Montego Bay) they must have been satisfied that any act of wanton cruelty practised on the defenceless white inhabitants, would be punished with corresponding severity; yet the most atrocious deeds of barbarity were constantly coming to light.

The following is an almost unparalleled instance of brutal inhumanity; but a portion only can meet the public eye, as delicacy forbids a detail of the whole case. In a retired part of the country, a white inhabitant, named P——e, had for some time possessed a comfortable settlement, by the cultivation of which, and his own frugality, he had not only managed to become somewhat independant, but, occasionally, had the satisfaction of administering to the wants of others. He was known as a peaceable man, and a kind master. His wife was industrious, and used every means in her power to accomplish the end which every planter professes to have in view, viz. "to make or mend his fortune."

It is true, this contented couple were not ignorant that the negroes had, on some estates, broken

out into open rebellion, and, reckless of the consequences, had destroyed their masters' property; but, unconscious of having injured or oppressed a human being, they entertained no fear of molestation in their humble retirement.

Nevertheless, one morning, on a sudden, Mr. P——e, while employed about his usual avocations, found his premises occupied by a gang of armed ruffians, some of whom, without ceremony, seized and began to bind him.

Mr. P——e remonstrated, and asked if he had ever injured any of them by word or deed.

The reply was, that they were fighting for their freedom, and were determined to have it; but as the whites were keeping it from them, all must be put out of the way.

Mr. P——e informed them he would not stand in the way of their freedom, but would even furnish them with all the provision he possessed, if they would spare the lives of himself and wife, as it must be very clear to them, that one man, situated like himself in so lonely a place, could neither resist, nor do them any harm.

They then said, they would not kill him, if he would only quietly submit to be bound until they had ransacked and fired the house and offices, as they were sworn to do this to every buckra residence they came to in their journey through the island.

Mr. P——e then implored that his wife should not be ill-treated; at which they laughed, and said, *they had no intention of hurting the white woman.*

During this conversation, Mrs. P——e had also been seized in the house, her husband being at the same time in the garden, and on hearing her

screams for assistance, his heart sunk within him, from his inability to render the required succour. His imagination painted to him the most barbarous of deaths and cruel tortures, the moment he perceived his shackled and trembling wife brought out to the front door, and found himself being fastened to a tree at a distance of about fifty feet from the spot where they had fixed her on a low stump or log of hard-wood timber. By this time the whole premises were in a blaze.

The miscreants seemed greatly and loudly to exult in their triumph; and, having drank a quantity of rum and other liquors, returned to Mr. P——e, whom they stripped to the skin: they then drew back, when some fired at him with guns, and others chopped him about the body with their muschetts. But, oh horror! fortunately delicacy forbids a minute recital of the savage scene that followed. Suffice it to say, that after the most inhuman and indecent mutilation, a small part of the body was brought to the wretched wife, and, when in the agony of grief, her mouth happened to be extended, this portion of her thus mangled husband, was forcibly thrust therein; beyond this act, she could furnish no distinct detail of events until her rescue by a party of militia!

To follow the troops through their various operations, would only be to furnish the reader with little more than a series of skirmishes maintained by the rebels, from the sides and summits of thickly wooded hills, to the great annoyance of the whites, as it constantly occurred whenever the military had to pass a road skirted by this kind of country.

Ever since the governor's first proclamation, instituting martial law, and calling upon all absentee slaves to return immediately to their work, none could be found to avail themselves of the pardon offered, and evince contrition for their past conduct.

The whole district, although a short time ago the most fertile and beautiful in the island, was now nothing more than a barren waste. Where formerly stood immensely valuable sugar works, nothing remained but a mass of ruins. Where had hitherto been heard the lively song of the contented negro, encouraging his companions to the performance of their daily work, all was melancholy silence. Here and there was espied a little black urchin, apparently exerting his utmost endeavours to elude observation, who a few weeks previously, would have hastened, with his utmost agility, to meet the coming stranger with "How d'ye, massa, how d'ye massa buckra," in the expectation of obtaining some small gratuity. Instead of luxuriant Guinea-grass pastures, well-fenced and watered, furnishing abundance of rich nutriment to a herd of sleek steers, mules, and other animals, nothing met the eye but grim devastation. Whole cane and Guinea-grass pieces burnt to the root, all fences destroyed by the raging element, and stone walls broken down, through the gaps of which the meagre stock, now entirely deprived of their usual sustenance, wandered far and wide, and, on being approached, invariably manifested symptoms of the utmost terror and consternation.

Thus was the fairest portion of the island rendered a desolate and barren waste, by the secret machinations of a party possessing no interest in the soil,

but acting under the erroneous, though plausible excuse of philanthropy. Property was recklessly sacrificed, and thousands rendered houseless and pennyless, for the accomplishment of a fanatical scheme, nurtured in the lap of bigotry, and brought to perfection (if the term is not degraded by its application in this case) under the powerful plea of political expediency.

Long will the ruined sons of Jamaica quail under the cruel infliction, by which they have been thus brought to the ground. In many instances, no future exertions can shelter some from that abject state of penury, against which their early and indefatigable labours had till now most securely screened them.

We have noticed before, that the services of the maroons was found peculiarly beneficial, for they were not only good guides, excellent shots, and men capable of enduring great fatigue, but from their correct knowledge of every settlement in each parish, individuals were often either seasonably rescued from incarceration, or barbarous murders were brought to light, which, without them, must ever have remained unknown.

Thus, in a case about to be related, it occurred to a party of them, who were attending a detachment of militia, that a settlement called Marchmont, being in so very retired a spot among the woods, but in the heart of the insurrectionary district, would most probably be fixed upon as a rendezvous for the rebels. It was accordingly decided to penetrate thereto, and, if possible, surround the premises, in order to prevent a precipitate flight, if their surmises should prove as anticipated. It was about mid-day when the party arrived within a very

short distance of Marchmont, when they separated, so as to encircle the premises, and gradually draw towards the centre. The manœuvre was well performed; but what was their horror and disgust at perceiving a pile of ruins still smoking, with the mangled and half consumed corpse of a white person lying thereon. The poor victim retained features and clothing sufficient to prove his identity, and, no doubt remained, that Mr. H——e, the proprietor, had been basely surprised and treacherously murdered by these inhuman demi-barbarians. Not a soul was left about the place to tell the tale; nor could it be imagined what fate had befallen his wife. However, from the universally acknowledged intentions of the rebels, as regarded the white females, not a moment was lost in making the strictest search for some clue to her place of confinement. Fortunately, success crowned their efforts, and Mrs. H. with a few free young women, were discovered in a secluded part of a deep ravine, most pitiably situated, although their detention had not been of long duration.

We pass over the joy of deliverance, to give the short narration of Mrs. H——e, who informed the party that just after dark on the previous night, their house was set on fire in several places at the same time, which induced her and her husband to run out at the door together; that Mr. H——e was immediately chopped down by some negroes, and that she was seized by others, bound, stripped, and tied to a tree, where she underwent a cruel flagellation from the hands of *her own waiting boy*, a lad whom she had brought up with the greatest kindness from infancy; but who said, he would now switch her for having occasioned him punishment

a few days previous for a theft he had committed. After this ungrateful treatment, she was hurried away, but knew not whither, nor could she speak further relative to the transactions at Marchmont, having no sight of her husband after he was murdered by her side.

During these shameful occurrences in the line between Montego Bay and Black River, the rebellious slaves performed innumerable acts of atrocity in other directions; but further detail would only shock the feelings, and trespass too much on the patience of the reader. In short, wherever human beings could not be found, on whom to inflict some revengeful punishment, they did not hesitate to vent their spleen on any valuable article belonging to the whites, that occasionally fell into their power.

As a proof, we will only record one instance out of countless others. As Whitehill, the residence of Dr. P. S——e, not more than six or eight miles from Montego Bay, but in the opposite direction, was deemed a very insecure habitation for himself and family, they repaired to the town, as soon as the adjoining estates were threatened with destruction. It was quite useless to remove any furniture, as one place was as liable to be burnt as another. The departure of the proprietor was, of course, immediately known, and this only served as a signal for the attack. Scarcely had six hours elapsed before the work of destruction commenced. An elegant grand piano was brought outside, and finding nothing harmonious could be drawn from it by their clumsy fingers, stones were employed on the keys, but as this only made the matter worse, the instrument was smashed to pieces with clubs and stones,

until entirely destroyed, when the fragments were tossed on the burning ruins, and totally consumed. Innumerable occurrences of this kind took place; but it is needless to relate more than have already been stated.

About this time several attempts were made to accomplish the destruction of Montego Bay by fire; and, as it was confidently asserted, that the notorious rebel "Hurlock" had been more than once seen disguised in female attire, it was therefore deemed advisable to adopt further means of security against the attack. A meeting of the inhabitants took place at the court house; when the *custos* took the chair, a proposition was then made for the establishment of a volunteer town guard, independent of the existing main guard. Besides the duties already undertaken by the inhabitants, it was proposed, that about two hundred should voluntarily enrol their names, to be divided into companies of thirty each, one of whom should be chosen leader, or captain, of each thirty, which would require the companies to serve only once a week. Their duty was principally to patrol the streets, avenues, and outskirts, throughout the whole night, watching with Argus' vigilance, at uncertain times, all places likely to be first set on fire, and interrogating, with excessive minuteness, every suspicious-looking individual. This resolution was carried into effect, and proved very satisfactory.

It will readily be concluded, that during the whole period of these agitations, all social meetings for the purposes of harmony or conviviality were at an end. In short, confidence could not be placed in even old servants, as so many instances of treachery.

had been developed, and so precarious and desperate was the state of affairs, that those who reposed at night, knew not whether they would rise in the morning, in consequence of the general covering of the houses being composed of combustible shingles, (generally cedar,) nothing could be easier to set on fire, or more difficult to arrest in its progress, when once in flames.

Notwithstanding the numerous examples that were daily made, by exhibiting the heads of the leaders of the rebels on poles, in conspicuous places throughout the district, the lessons seemed of none effect, as few, very few returned to the properties, and none to their work. Indeed, they dare not do so; for, as many stated on their trials, they would have been murdered if they had returned.

In Kingston and Spanish Town were congregated so many loose characters, inhabiting insignificant huts about the suburbs, that it was deemed a miracle either town escaped. Several of these men and women had originally been slaves; some had from former good conduct received the boon of freedom from their liberal proprietors; but had fallen into every species of wickedness, from their natural depravity of character, and unconquerable propensity to idleness. Many, again, had been run-away negroes, who, after absenting themselves from their work in the country-parts, had sought, and unfortunately with success, privacy and concealment in a crowded city; and thus were the offspring of these two classes, apparently born free, but without either ability or means of earning a livelihood. These worthless beings were certainly considered assistants to the enemy without the walls; and it cannot be doubted, but that they were the instigators of

many of the fires which almost nightly took place about that time.

Every means of security was, however, adopted. Town guards, volunteer associations, patrols, and every thing else, was resorted to; and at Kingston, Old Harbour, and other places, the officers and crews of the merchant shipping, enrolled themselves into bodies, undertaking shore duties for the preservation of the towns and suburbs in the harbours of which they were lying.

In the parishes of Portland, St. George, St. Thomas in the East and St. John's, there were occasional atrocious acts committed, and many of the negroes struck their work; but as this was not the original or principal seat of the insurrection, and the detail of occurrences, in any way important or amusing, may be shortly furnished to the public, when facts are sufficiently authenticated, there is no necessity for trespassing further on the reader's patience. Suffice it to say, that wherever disturbances or fires broke out, the regular, as well as the militia force, soon convinced the deluded wretches of their error, as many of them were tried and executed.

At one time, some companies of the Kingston militia, embarked from thence, at the shortest notice, and disembarked at Salt River, to arrest the spirit of rebellion which had broken out in the parishes of Vere and Clarendon; and, as the insurrection had continued some weeks, the governor, (the Earl of Belmore,) resolving to take a tour through the disturbed districts, embarked in one of the men-of-war on the station, and landed at Montego Bay. Finding there was no appearance of the negroes' return to their work, and in the hope that his presence might induce them to retrace their steps to

the different estates to which they belonged, he issued the following proclamation to facilitate his object, by offering pardon to those who immediately complied with its mandates:—

A PROCLAMATION

By his Excellency the Right Hon. Somerset Lowry, Earl of Belmore, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's Island of Jamaica, and the Territories thereon depending in America, Chancellor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

WHEREAS, notwithstanding his Majesty's Royal Proclamation, denouncing his high displeasure against all slaves who should offend against the laws by which they are governed, or resist the authority of their masters or managers, many slaves in certain parts of this island, under the pretence that orders have been sent out by his Majesty for their emancipation, have proceeded to the most flagrant outrages, and destruction of property; and whereas, the death of many of them actually in arms, and the exemplary punishment already inflicted, after trial, upon several ringleaders in this rebellion, must have convinced all slaves engaged therein, that it is vain to oppose the overwhelming force which is assembled to reduce them to obedience. And whereas, there is reason to believe, that numbers are deterred from returning to their duty by a fear of that punishment which their rebellious practices merit, I have therefore thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, promising and assuring to all slaves who have been misled by the misrepresentations of cunning and designing persons, his Majesty's most gracious pardon, provided they do, within the space of ten days from the date hereof, surrender themselves at the nearest military post, or return peaceably to the

plantations to which they belong, and resume their ordinary occupations, quietly submitting themselves, and obeying all the lawful commands of their masters or managers: and I hereby declare and make known, that all those principals and chiefs, who shall be convicted of having instigated or directed the destruction of the lives and properties of any of the peaceable inhabitants of this island, are specially excluded from the benefit of this Proclamation.

Given under my hand and seal at arms, at Montego Bay, this third day of February, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, annosque Domini, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

(Signed)

BELMORE.

A notice was also issued from head-quarters, directing all owners and managers of slaves forthwith to forward returns to the custodis, or senior magistrates of their respective parishes, of such slaves as had been killed or executed since the commencement of the rebellion, and of all who remained absent at that time from their respective properties. Although one would naturally have concluded that, from the extreme lenity in which the terms of the Proclamation were couched, the insurgents would gladly and precipitately have availed themselves of such an opportunity to return unmolested; yet, strange to say, such was either their infatuation, or their incredulity, that nearly the whole time expired before even a small number could be seen on any property.

The Earl of Belmore, however, seized the earliest period, and travelling from estate to estate, addressed them on the enormity of their past conduct, at the

same time endeavouring to elicit from them the reasons for so desperate an undertaking. By one and all the same reply was made, they had no complaints of ill-treatment. They simply persisted in the assertion that they had been told by the Baptist missionaries and others, that their free paper had been sent to *gubna*, and that as the whites were keeping them from it, they must take their freedom by burning down the buckra houses, works, canes, and grass-pieces, or they would never get it, as one week's work after Christmas would make them slaves for ever.

In the governor's journey from Montego Bay towards Black River, he was, after a few days' labor, obliged to return to Montego Bay, in consequence of there being no house left to hold himself and retinue; but, at length, in his more advanced progress, took up his quarters for a few days at N. S——, where he was gladly received, and liberally entertained.

From hence the governor visited the estates and plantations in the neighbourhood, and found the beneficial effects of his late Proclamation, as the negroes, now seeing that their case was hopeless, began to return to their respective employments. It was while the Earl of Belmore was in this district that two of the principal rebel chiefs were induced to make a surrender of their persons.

It happened that a Lieutenant M'N——, belonging to the Westmoreland regiment of militia, was stationed with his party in a secluded spot, surrounded on almost every side by thickly wooded hills, but occupied to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels, as it could be easily made impregnable.

The woman who was employed to cook for the small detachment, had about a quarter of a mile to walk to a spring for water. On her return one morning early, she informed Mr. M'N——l that the wife of Colonel Gardiner (the rebel) had purposely met her at the spring, and delivered a message from the chief to this effect:—"Tell Mr. M'N——l that he need not be afraid of me, as I am so tired of my present mode of life, that if he will come unarmed and unattended to the wall that skirts the deep wood by the road-side this morning at mid-day, about half-way between his station and this spring, and walk twenty yards straight into the wood, by a pass that is there cut for the purpose, I will be ready to deliver myself up to him; and, in return, I shall only require him to make terms for my life."

It will be supposed, that no man in his senses would listen to such a proposal, or abide by its provisions. Mr. M'N——l, however, possessed an undaunted spirit, and calculating that he might carry a part of the proposition into effect with a certain degree of safety, if the plan he meditated remained unknown to all until the time fixed for its accomplishment, he disregarded the proposition by treating it with contempt, which prevented discussions that might otherwise have been promulgated. However, a few minutes before the time appointed for him to start, he called together his party, avowed his intentions, and permitted six to volunteer for the service; each man concealed about his person two pair of pistols, and carried only a stick in his hand. Mr. M'N——l did the same, with the difference, that as they were to wait at a little distance, and he was to enter alone, instead of a stick he wore his sabre.

The arrangement was, that after proceeding with due caution and privacy to the spot, the party were to conceal themselves under the wall, and wait for a shot from Mr. M'N——l, which was to be the signal for their issuing forth in case of danger to himself; but they were on no account to appear unless the shot was heard. This being completed, Mr. M'N——l boldly entered the pass described, anticipating nothing but a sudden surprise from a large body of armed negroes, and he himself ready instantaneously to make the concerted signal. He completed more than his twenty yards, when neither seeing or hearing any thing, he began to conjecture that the tale was false altogether, that he was before his time, or that he was expected to penetrate somewhat further, seeing the track continued for a considerable distance. The latter idea had its weight, and he proceeded a little further, calling out "*Gardiner, I'm come to meet you; you need not be afraid, come out.*" Nothing however occurred, all was silence, and he bent his steps backward, unable to divine the cause of Gardiner's non-appearance.

He returned to the party in safety, and some of them earnestly wished to scour the wood; but Mr. M'N——l opposed this measure as imprudent in the highest degree, because, in the first place, so small a party, however well armed, would inevitably fall an easy prey to the numbers supposed to be in the wood; and, again, such an act would destroy confidence, and put an end to a voluntary surrender, should such be Gardiner's real intention.

All were now of opinion that the most advisable plan to adopt was, to drop the subject, until the return of the cook from the spring the following

morning, as they fully anticipated the mystery would then be developed. Nor was this conjecture unfounded, for she informed Mr. M'N——l that the woman had again met her, making the same appointment for that day, and assigning as the reason of its failure, on the preceding one, that Gardiner was quite aware of the party waiting for Mr. M'N——l, and of their all being armed, *contrary to his stipulations.*

The terms now were, that not an individual was to leave the station but Mr. M'N——l; that he was to be unarmed with the exception of his sabre, which, on reaching the spot he was to unsheath and lay on the wall by the side of one he would see there belonging to Gardiner, as a token of pacification and confidence on both sides. Gardiner pledged himself that if, on their interview, he found that Mr. M'N——l *could not accede to his terms*, he might still rely on being permitted to reach his party in perfect safety.

Very contrary to the wishes of his associates, Mr. M'N——l decided on hazarding his life, in the hope that, should the surrender of Gardiner be the result, it might produce a great effect on a large body of the rebels, who certainly looked up to him as their military commander, although Daddy Ruler General Samuel Sharp was the main-spring of the insurrection in other points, and chief of the rebels.

At the appointed time, Mr. M'N——l repaired alone to the spot, and finding Gardiner's sword absolutely lying on the wall, placed his own by the side of it; he then advanced into the wood about twenty-five yards and was met by Gardiner, who

thus addressed him: "Well, Massa M'N—I, now you come by yourself, and without arms, I meet you according to my promise." "Then," said Mr. M'N—I, "I suppose you are the Gardiner whom the rebeis call their colonel." "I am" said he, "but I find they are a parcel of cowards, and have no good spirit in them, so it is no use to keep out any longer. Had they been all of my mind, and acted with me, as it was first agreed upon, there would neither have been a buckra-man living, or a buckra-house standing by this time, in the island." "Indeed," said Mr. M'N—I, "you talk very high; but you see that was not so easily accomplished as you expected." "No matter for that," said Gardiner, "remember you only command a small company, I command an immense army, and by a single signal could, at this moment, destroy you and your whole party, but I wish to shed no more blood; and having passed my word for your safety, not a hair of your head shall be injured." Thus assured, Mr. M'N—I proceeded: "Well, Gardiner, on that point, I'm satisfied; but tell me the truth on another. In case of your having performed all you have told me were your intentions, what was to become of the white women?" "Oh! Mr. M'N—I you need not ask that question, for you know quite well that we should have taken them all for our own wives. But that is nothing now; I'm wanting to know if you will promise myself and another our pardon if we give ourselves up to you as officer of the party, because governor's proclamation say so."

Mr. M'N—I then informed him, that although he might accede to his surrender, he had no power to promise pardon to one who was decidedly a

principal in the rebellion, as such an act of mercy rested solely in the hands of the Earl of Belmore, who was now at Savannah-le-Mar. He would, however, engage to convey him safely to Savannah-le-Mar, which was not very far from the station, and wait on the governor himself in his behalf, if he chose voluntarily to surrender. With regard to the other person, if he did not come under the description of those alluded to in the proclamation, who were accounted unworthy of clemency, he could vouch for his being unmolested, provided he went quietly back to his work; but, said Mr. M'N—l, where is he? and what is his name?" "He is not far off, Dove is his name; do you wish to see him?" "Yes, certainly," said Mr. M'N—l, "but I tell you at once, if he is the Captain Dove, named in the governor's first proclamation, he is in the same situation with respect to pardon as yourself; and, I am sorry to say, I could only do for him what I am willing to do for you, but, at any rate, let me see him." Gardiner then turning Mr. M'N—l round to a stout overhanging branch of a tree, under which the whole of their conversation had taken place, said, "See him there: Dove, come down." He did so with great agility. "Well, Dove," said Gardiner, "you have heard every word that has passed. Mr. M'N—l cannot himself give pardon, but has promised to speak to the governor for us, I shall go with him; what will you do?" "Massa M'N—l, good buckra, me go wid him too." On saying this, each seized an arm of Mr. M'N—l, greatly to his astonishment, but not much to his comfort, and thus sociably walked together to the amusement and surprise of the detachment, who had been extremely

uneasy about the safety of their officer, notwithstanding the repeated assurances of the cook-woman, "that nothing bad would do him."

The appearance of Gardiner might be deemed very prepossessing. His figure was tall and well proportioned, his limbs muscular, and his carriage unusually upright. His countenance bore evident marks of anxiety; but was animated by an open and manly cast of features that drew unconsciously from the beholder kinder feelings than his late conduct seemed to merit. His conversation was apparently undisguised; and, with the utmost promptitude, he frankly answered every question put to him. He spoke even magnanimously of some encounters he had sustained with the whites, lauding, in the highest terms, the valour of his own troops on those particular occasions, and boasting of the havoc they had committed among the military in two or three instances.

Of a different description altogether was his companion, Captain Dove. Short in stature, and ill-favoured, with a countenance that seemed to proclaim the possessor as calculated to accomplish the blackest and most atrocious of designs. The small sunken and subtle eye was most appropriately matched with a mouth and cheek habitually wearing a decidedly sarcastic grin; nor was the impression such a physiognomy would naturally create, in any degree rendered more favourable by the artfulness of his replies, and the prevaricating method he adopted when questions were put, that might in any way implicate him as one of the leaders. Indeed, he would sometimes cease altogether from answering, and neither threats nor fair promises could

induce him to communicate, when these sullen fits came on.

It was, therefore, principally from Gardiner that facts were drawn; and, after being encouraged to relate every thing he knew about the origin, cause, and progress of the insurrection, he told his story in nearly the following words, which, for the aid of the reader, who may not be acquainted with the negro mode of expression, will be detailed in plain English, as has already been done in his dialogue with Mr. M'N—l, previous to his surrender. His tale will not only include what he related when first a prisoner, but also the substance of all his subsequent confessions to the Rev. Mr. S——t, when in confinement at Savannah-le-Mar, and at his trial.

He asserted, that he supposed himself to be about thirty years of age, and that ever since he was a boy, the idea of taking their freedom by rising upon the whites, had been in the heads of the negroes, but that they never could bring it properly about, because of the difficulties that opposed their different plans. Sometimes every cook throughout the island was to be sworn in blood, brick-dust and, gunpowder, to poison every article that was prepared for the white family in which he or she lived, on a certain day, in order that the act might be simultaneous. The oath was to be administered, and the poison furnished by itinerants, who were to traverse the country, and who, should the plan succeed, were to receive as a reward for such eminent services performed for their fraternity, the choice of the white women for their wives, and the choice of properties for a residence, &c. He assured his hearers, that this project had proceeded to a certain extent, when,

in one or two instances, it was divulged by old and faithful servants, and thereby defeated ; but they were of course destroyed for their treachery.

A general assassination, on a particular night, was the next scheme that seemed likely to succeed ; but the premature conduct at Argyle estate, in 1824, quite prevented its accomplishment.

Still the hope of eventually obtaining freedom, with what they considered its blest accompaniments, urged them to further endeavours ; and hearing that the " Baptist missionaries " unceasingly condemned the continuance of slavery, they flocked in vast numbers to the chapels of that denomination, and found so much encouragement from the preachers, that most of them deserted their former places of worship, to become members of a persuasion which promised, in such unqualified terms, to lead them to their darling object. Besides, their contiguity to Montego Bay, the spaciousness of the chapel, the talents, the eloquence, and the congenial doctrine of the preachers, all combining with facility to concoct plans, when met in large numbers, rendered this town a much more desirable centre, than even the more extensive and populous ones of Kingston and Spanish Town ; and, in addition to these advantages, was one of greater import and magnitude, in consequence of its being surrounded by large sugar estates, to which many desperate characters were known to belong, and who would not hesitate to undertake any enterprise, however hazardous, in furtherance of their acknowledged designs ; for, if unsuccessful, the extraordinary formation of the adjacent country appeared peculiarly favourable to either a retreat, well concealed by rock or wood, or

an unsuspected subterranean seclusion, being composed of mountains thickly clothed with heavy timbers, and almost impenetrable underwood, skirted by deep ravines, and caverns of enormous dimensions, known only to the negro banditti themselves.

He stated, that, although somewhat disappointed, they were by no means disheartened by the failure of the *assassination scheme*; because there still remained the burning plan, which they all considered nothing could prevent: the difficulty, however, seemed to arise from a want of one acknowledged chief, with subordinates, who could plan for the best, and convey the determinations to the whole body with perspicuity and despatch.

Since the slight attempt in 1824, *freedom* had been always their principal topic; and from the doctrines they heard weekly disseminated at chapel, and the quotations made, which latter, especially, were treasured up in their minds with the utmost tenacity, they became every year riper and more anxious for commencement.

He mentioned, among many others, the following passages from the Bible, which he said were often made use of by the preachers, and commented on at great length, by which they proved that the whites had no right to keep them in bondage, viz: "No man can serve *two* masters."—"Be not entangled with the yoke of bondage."—"Ye shall be *free* indeed."—"Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul;" and many others equally applicable.

He added that, although every negro was convinced that the governor had received their free papers from England, and was only prevented from

issuing them by the proprietors themselves, still affairs might have proceeded for some time longer had it not been for these overwhelming circumstances:—the one was, that prior to the departure of one of the preachers to England, he had assured them, that, before the following Christmas arrived, they would be free; but that if the whites persisted in keeping them in slavery, a star would fix itself to the corner of the moon, as a signal for them to cease labour, and that rather than do any work beyond the specified time, they must trust “to fire and sword.” The star had so fixed itself, and they were not free, so they had no alternative. Again, the other was,—on one Sunday, just before Christmas, the eighth chapter of Joshua had been read to them, and commented on, as relative to their present situation, and such things had been said, “as made all their blood boil,” so they immediately met after chapel, fixed upon the best of all the plans proposed, named Daddy Ruler Samuel Sharp as their chief, and Gardiner as their colonel; Dove, M’Cail, M’Lenan, and many others were then named to fill the subordinate grades; and, before they retired, oaths were administered to all, confirming them in their stations, and binding all parties, under pain of immediate death, to act with vigour, promptitude, obedience, and effect.

It was agreed, that, in order to lull the whites into security, every day and night of the Christmas holidays was to pass off in quietness, and that the signal fire was to take place just at sun-set of the Tuesday after Christmas-day, when not a moment was to be lost in carrying the work of devastation completely through the island. Their principal camp,

g a most advantageous situation, was settled to n Greenwich Hill, where Sharp, as their chief high priest, was to assemble the rebels occasionally for prayer; and from whence all orders would e for burning, plundering, ambush, or foraging hen.

ardiner took charge of all military movements; being well acquainted with the characters of his ers, knew well how to appropriate the squads eding to the vigour and abilities of him with m the enterprise was entrusted. He, however, nowledged, that he never could have conceived pes to be such a cowardly race, when put to the as he had now proved them, which circumstance convinced him of the propriety of the step he adopted in surrendering himself, as the only pe of saving his life. He said, they were rting him every day; and so confident was he air intention to betray him, that for many nights himself and Dove had slept in trees, until they me almost exhausted, and quite disheartened.

e knew the governor was in the parish, and d to obtain his pardon, in consequence of hav- voluntarily given himself up; but, at any rate, rusted, that rather than put him to death, they ld send him to England. He confessed, the oes themselves had unanimously considered it "*Baptist Insurrection*," as they acknowledged have principally originated in the doctrines promulgated, and the degraded light in which taught them to look at their situation. He dly said, he had nothing to conceal, and would freely tell any thing required. Of course, were both placed under sentries; but never

attempted an escape, and were taken down to Savannah-le-Mar the next day.

On being brought into the governor's presence, there was neither an alteration in deportment or narrative. Many weeks elapsed before they were brought to trial; but the fact of their having been principals, and also personally committed innumerable acts of arson, barbarism, and even murder, entirely precluded the possibility of the smallest lenity. Gardiner was, however, alone executed at that time, and his head was stuck upon a pole in the most conspicuous part of the rebellious district. Dove was reserved for the hulks, in England.

Although the worst of the evil was now evidently arrested, it could not be considered at an end, so long as the leader Sharp, and such desperate characters as Hurlock, Largie, Simpson, and others, remained at large. Parties, therefore, were constantly in search of them; and, after various narrow escapes, these individuals, and almost all the rest, were captured, or compelled to surrender. A few, never again heard of, were supposed to have either died of wounds, or to have perished from exhaustion and fatigue. The leader, Sharp, secreted himself for a considerable time, but eventually suffered the sentence of the law. They all made confessions, by which it was known that Hurlock had swam the river three times in one day, to avoid pursuit; and Largie confessed he was so shockingly stunned by a fall from a tree, and extreme debility, that, on his recovery, he would have gladly surrendered, had any party overtaken him, but finding himself able at night to creep as far as his nearest associates, he was prevailed upon still to remain out.

Simpson was a slave, and not the wretch who accused the Moravian missionary, Mr. P——r. While in confinement, he unfolded a most horrid transaction, which but for his being consciencesmitten, would never have come to light. He stated, that after their camp had been broken up in the neighbourhood of Catadupa by the military, they absconded in different directions, but every man took care to carry with him not only his arms, but as much ammunition as he could conveniently lay hands on at the moment of retreat. Two desperate fellows from Greenwich estate, one from Catadupa, and another who told them he had no owner, happened to take the same pass with himself. They wandered through the woods until confident of being quite safe from pursuit; and then, while refreshing themselves with whatever their wallets contained, (for they invariably carried about them some ready dressed cocoas, yams, or plantains,) the plan was formed for the robbery and murder of a white person, named G——m, in whose neighbourhood they then were, should his habitation still remain undemolished.

For many years this individual had practised the most rigid economy, and lived in the utmost seclusion, insomuch that few were aware of his existence, except one or two families in the adjoining parishes, to whom he occasionally (but very seldom) made a visit, to hear the news of the day, and to prove that he was still among the living. Besides himself, a wife and grown up daughter were content to pass life away in this solitude; but the habits of industry which they practised, enabled them to welcome each coming day, as one that

would add something more to that general fund which was, they trusted, hereafter to become an ample support in their native land, when in the decline of years; for to this reward they all most joyfully looked forward. G——m, was a Scotsman, a carpenter by trade, who had many years previously repaired with his wife and their only child to Jamaica, in the hope that a good trade, perseverance, industry, and temperance, would enable him to realize a comfortable provision for their old age, should they escape the dangers of the climate. Having for a few years successfully worked at his vocation, he found himself in possession of sufficient means to purchase a few acres of excellent wood-land and two male slaves; with the latter he very soon cleared land enough for a commencement, on part of which he erected a small but convenient residence, and planted the remainder with provisions. By degrees he managed to procure a female to perform the cooking and other domestic duties, also a mule and two old horses. The mule was principally for his own riding, and consequently led an easy life; but the horses were used by turns to convey his provisions, tobacco, &c. to Montego Bay and Savannah-le-Mar for sale, in charge of one of his men, whom he had no reason to distrust. Contrary to the usual custom, he gave no name to his cottage, considering it might appear as if he was worth something.

Years rolled on, without the least variation to this hermit-like family, who all worked daily in the grounds, in the preparation of tobacco, &c. for market, or in making straw hats and baskets, at which both wife and daughter were extremely

skilful. All necessary materials, and every thing required for the family, were procured and paid for by the *faithful negro*, as if for himself, at his periodical visits to the towns. Rum, sugar, &c. was obtained by the same individual, at the adjacent estates and plantations, in exchange for corn, poultry (of which they raised abundance,) or ground provisions.

Once, and only once, every year, G——m made his visit to Montego Bay. This invariably occurred in August, because at that time bills of exchange are abundant, and the premium lower than at any other period throughout the year. He carried his annual savings, paid his small amount of taxes, and purchased a bill of exchange to whatever amount he was able. This was enclosed in a letter previously written, carefully wafered and sealed at the merchant's store where it had been purchased, and conveyed safely by himself to the post-office, the merchant retaining for him the duplicate letter and second of exchange, which he as carefully forwarded, as directed, by the first merchant vessel about to sail for Scotland. Bodily infirmity, for which he held a medical certificate, prevented his being called upon to serve in the militia, consequently nothing compelled him to quit his retirement but the occasion just mentioned. The rebel who first proposed the attack on G——m, was the one who said he had "no owner;" but stated his name to be Cudjoe, and informed them there was money in the house, as one of G——m's negroes had told him that plenty of money had been brought back from Montego Bay and Savannah-le-Mar lately, for provisions, tobacco, &c. &c. He asserted his

intimate knowledge of the place, as the femaleslave was his wife, also of the different rooms in which the family slept, and rather created suspicion in the minds of his companions as to his having "no owner," when he assured them that *the watch dog had been poisoned a few days before*. There was, however, no time for further inquiry, as day would dawn ere they could accomplish their design.

On reaching the house, Cudjoe's tale proved true, for neither dog or negro watchman was to be found. According to their preconcerted plan, Cudjoe burst open the back door of the master's bed-room, and began to chop and beat him about the head and body with the short muschett he carried, until he was so faint from loss of blood that he could offer no resistance, when he was dragged to one side of the room. In the meantime, the rest had secured the wife and daughter, as the latter had rushed into the room, with only her night clothes on, when the uproar commenced. Cudjoe knew well where to find plenty of ropes; for here, it must be divulged, that *he was the hitherto faithful servant of Mr. G——m, who had from his first settlement in the woods, transacted all his business, disposed of his provisions, &c. &c.* The bloody clothes were now thrown from the bed, and the distracted wife lain upon the mattress; the ropes were then used to bind her firmly down upon her back. During which the daughter had been carried again to her bed, and bound in the same manner. The scene that now ensued may be imagined, but it cannot be described.

These diabolical wretches now broke open the chest (well known to Cudjoe) in which the money had always been deposited, and finding a good

store, it was equally divided among the party. The larder and rum bottle were then resorted to, and each equipped himself with a portion of the wearing apparel. As it was now broad day-light, the villains considered it somewhat unsafe, even in this sequestered spot, to remain longer out of the deep wood ; they therefore placed the mangled corpse of the murdered husband on the same bed with the cruelly abused and firmly shackled wife, covering them over with the gore stained sheets, &c. The agonizing screams and groans of the daughter, who now lay lacerated, bound, and dreadfully convulsed, the inhuman wretch himself acknowledged were too painful for even himself and associates to endure; they consequently stuffed her mouth with a piece of musquito netting, piled up chairs, tables, trunks, &c. on all the bodies, to ensure their burning, before they could escape, and hastened to finish their work by fire-sticks, which they applied to every part of the house and out-houses. Having satisfied themselves that every thing, together with the bodies, must be entirely consumed, they sought safety in the thickest and most gloomy recesses, and had not courage to join their companions in rebellion until two nights after the completion of this barbarously savage transaction.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that as this horrid occurrence did not transpire until weeks subsequent to its perpetration, no traces were left, excepting a few human bones found in the ruins. By those who cease not to rail against the supposed inhumanity of the whites, with no other foundation for their acrimony, than the unprecedented falsehoods that have been continually fabricated in England, and vented

forth with unceasing asperity, let such facts as these be attentively perused, keenly felt, and duly appreciated. Let them act a fair and candid part, by laying aside all bias, and placing themselves or their relatives for a moment in the situations that have been unhappily experienced by many more of their fellow-creatures, than those whose cases have been but faintly depicted in the foregoing pages. Comment, however, is at present of no avail; the bloody and soul-harrowing scenes that have already occurred, can only now serve as an awful lesson to those, who, wielding the wand of power, may hereafter be in danger of permitting their better judgment to be over-ruled by the demons of party spirit, prejudice, or fanatical enthusiasm.

Trifling as this Jamaica Baptist insurrection may appear to thousands unconnected with the island, and to those unacquainted with the real extent of wretchedness that must hereafter be endured by the now portionless widow, and the orphans destitute of maintenance, it has, nevertheless, reduced thousands of industrious families to abject misery and irrevocable ruin.

February had now run about one-half of its course, and the negroes were coming in from all quarters to their respective properties; and merchant vessels from England were seen lying in the different harbours, without a prospect of sufficient cargo for homeward ballast. Desperate evils require equally desperate remedies; consequently, those who had acted the hostile and ruinous part, were now in their turns to suffer a portion of the hardships and privations.

On many large estates, the slaves were compelled to work every day, (Sundays not excepted,) in the erection of temporary edifices, under which the preparation of the remaining crop might still proceed, there having been several fields of sugar-cane on each estate so green as not to take fire, and these had luckily escaped the general conflagration. The coffee-trees also, being in a verdant state, could receive no injury from fire.

It was found that, on such estates as had water-mills which could not easily be burnt, the negroes had daubed them all over with tar, in hopes that ignition would surely take place, and consequently be more speedily consumed. Where steam-engines had been erected, they maliciously destroyed them with sledge-hammers. By this time, many of the principals had either been destroyed in the conflicts, executed after a trial, or had surrendered themselves; but there still remained some desperate characters at large.

The governor deeming his presence no longer necessary, returned to Spanish Town, and forthwith issued a proclamation dispensing with martial law, greatly to the joy of the inhabitants, who, though they with praiseworthy alacrity obeyed the first orders to repair to their duty, when their services were required for the safety and well being of the country, felt unbounded satisfaction when the restoration of tranquillity permitted them to enjoy the peace and comfort of their own domestic circles. At this juncture, however, it was deemed expedient to raise and continue in pay, under the denomination of an "Island Police," in the disturbed districts, a certain number of effective officers and men, whose duty it was to hunt out the remainder

of the rebels, and to proceed at all hours in search of run-aways. These were allowed to volunteer from the militia, and comprised, principally, of such individuals as had no families requiring their constant attendance at home. By this force some of the stragglers were secured; and it had the effect of intimidating such as felt inclined again to repair to the woods.

About this period, the principal Baptist missionary (B——ll) arrived at Montego Bay, in the merchant ship, Garland Grove; but the general excitement against him was such, that his friends deemed it inadvisable for him to land until matters might take a different turn. The authorities, however, adopted at once the wisest and the safest plan, by removing Mr. B——ll to a frigate then lying in the harbour, and causing all his papers to be searched by a civil officer of high rank in the parish, appointed for that purpose. As the substance of the orders delivered to the gentleman nominated to act as scrutineer, had never fairly transpired, it was impossible for the public to know what documents were found; but as Mr. B——ll had plenty of time to cancel, or even to conceal, anything likely to criminate himself before they came into the searcher's possession, it was more than probable that no evidence was obtained of the nature anticipated. Nevertheless, an indictment (for form's sake) was framed against him and his colleague, Mr. K——bb, "for feloniously and seditiously exciting the slaves to rebellion," which bills were preferred at the next March Cornwall Assize Court, held at Montego Bay, when the grand jury ignored that against B——ll, but found a true bill against K——bb, who was admitted to bail.

Although it is the determination of the writer to make as little comment as possible on the acts of the executive at the time of this unhappy affair, yet, as the release of him who was acknowledged by all the delinquents to be their first mover to rebellion, and of most of his white associates, must appear extremely strange to all such as are totally unacquainted with the actual state of the public mind at this particularly agitated period, a few short remarks, in elucidation (as far as general opinions can clear the point,) may not be superfluous. Throughout these pages, the reader must have observed that every negro, whose trial, confession, or conversation, has been recorded, invariably speaks to the prominent (though clandestine) part taken by the Baptist preachers, in the only way they could promote the insurrection, and attributes, without disguise, or prevarication, the commencement of it to their doctrines and explanations. Even those who had no clemency to expect, as well as those who, from turning crown witnesses, and receiving pardon, pointedly insisted on these facts; indeed, it was almost the only circumstance on which all were agreed.

Lamentable as were the consequences to the proprietors, the evil was not confined to them alone, but affected, in a greater or less degree, the whole mass of our colonial population; nay, the ruin, in many cases, extended to merchants and ship owners in England. Individuals of unspotted character, quietly carrying on the business of their estates or plantations on the island, and sharing with their labourers whatever comforts could be enjoyed in so unpropitious a climate, were thus involuntarily

dragged from their homes, to endure hardships, encounter hazards, and suffer privations they had no reason to anticipate; while their minds could not be much at ease for the female part of their families, although removed to what they considered a situation of comparative security, or for their properties, now left defenceless at the mercy of ruthless destroyers.

Goaded by these provoking causes for excitement, it is not surprising that all should alike feel the strongest detestation, and bear the most inveterate rancour towards those individuals who were invariably acknowledged, by their own captured accomplices, to be the origin of these disasters. It is not possible, whatever stoics or philosophers may argue to the contrary, that men's minds, thus harassed and disturbed, should remain devoid of angry passions. Man cannot war with his own nature : religion, example, education, and precept, may do much; but there exists not a mortal who can, in justice to himself, entertain kind feelings towards that fellow-being, who has despoiled him of his fair prospects, his peace, and his home. Such, then, was the precise case with the Jamaica inhabitants at that period; for they found all remonstrance with the mother country unavailing, all complaints disregarded, all concessions trampled on, and all explanations ridiculed.

Packet after packet brought new insults, or fresh interferences with internal arrangements, hitherto unmolested. The effect of such proceedings, on imaginations already overheated by the flame of unnatural and unceasing persecution from one party, and remorseless deprivation of property from

another, may be easily conceived; it is therefore unnecessary to attempt a palliation of the excited feelings (as it was officially termed) that so generally prevailed against the particular sect and individuals just alluded to.

Suffice it to say, that the utmost vigilance of the authorities was requisite to screen the parties from immolation during their removal from one place to another; and it required the personal attendance of the attorney-general and one of the assistant judges to ensure a safe escort to Mr. B. from the court-house to the place of re-embarkation. On the following day he found it necessary to engage his passage on board a brig going to sail for America; and afterwards made all possible speed to England. Although a true bill had been found against his colleague, some informalities, and the mistaken lenity already alluded to, permitted his escape to Kingston, from whence he also proceeded to England.

While these untoward occurrences were being brought to a close in the county of Cornwall, every thing seemed proceeding towards the same point to windward, so that, with the commencement of March, all appeared tolerably quiet again. Martial law had ceased; and families, whose homes had not been sacrificed, returned to them, but not with any feeling of security.

It is true, rebellion was checked, nay, apparently quelled; but so many instances of treachery had been developed, that no one could again place the hitherto unlimited confidence in his most faithful negro, whether domestic or otherwise, that he had formerly felt justified in doing. There was, besides, a kind of sullen and discontented demeanour, not to be mistaken.

As soon as things could be brought round to any kind of order, returns were published, specifying the different properties that no longer existed, as far as related to residences, and out-offices, overseers' houses and out-buildings, sets of works, trash houses, negro houses, cane and grass pieces, &c. In many instances they were egregiously erroneous, probably from misinformation; for it was quite impracticable for any individual to have personally viewed the whole extent of devastation.

Among various authenticated accounts published, the following has been selected, as coming nearer to the actual facts than any other; but in this there may be some omissions, and a few trifling inaccuracies, yet the greatest care has been taken to procure a correct statement from each of the suffering parishes.

279 *List of Properties burned with the Proprietors Names, and number of Slaves on each, in Cornwall.*

SAINT JAMES.

PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	BUILDINGS DESTROYED.			SLAVES.
		Residence	Works	Negro Houses	
Anderson, Robert	Lethe Estate	Do.	.	.	295
Archer, Christian	Cottage Penn	Do.	.	.	30
Anderson, Samuel	Hillowton do.	Do.	.	.	25
Barry, A.	Home-Castle do.	Do.	.	.	23
Baillie, John	Rochampton Estate	Do.	do.	do.	339
Balfour, S. W.	Col. Spring Plantation	Do.	do.	do.	17
Bernard, D. H.	Eden Estate	Do.	do.	do.	209
Bernard, C. E.	Childermas do.	Do.	do.	do.	155
Bernard, W. J.	Content Plantation	Do.	.	.	39
Bernard, T. J.	Bellevue do.	Do.	.	.	19
Broch, Joseph	Leagan Estate	Do.	do.	do.	172
Bowen, Joseph	Saltspring Penn	Do.	.	.	75
Boyd, David	Bonavista do.	Do.	.	.	132
Bernard, F.	Trafalgar do.	Do.	.	.	12
Clarke, J. G.	Lapland Estate	Do.	do.	do.	114
Clarke, S. H.	Retirement do	Do.	do.	do.	354
Clarke, William	St. James's Park Plantation	Do.	.	.	48
Clarke, James	Hazelgrove do.	Do.	.	.	10
Coates, John	Hall Estate	Do.	do.	do.	85
Cragg, George	Do.	Do.	do.	do.	170

SAINT JAMES, CONTINUED.

PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	BUILDINGS DESTROYED.			SLAVES.
		Residence.	Works.	Negro Houses.	
Canningham, Hon. James & George	Bellfield Estate	Do.			370
	Harmony Hall Plantation,	Do.			31
	Retrieve Penn	Do.	do.		108
	St. Ives Plantation	Do.			6
Delius, Samuel	Caledonia do.	Do.		do.	27
Dadieu, David	Orange Estate	Do.		do.	116
Delap, S. F.	Concordia Plantation	Do.	do.	do.	28
Dodd, John	Camrose do.	Do.			53
Dowser, R. T.	Content do.	Do.			9
Dodd, E.	Lima Estate	Trash House			295
Erskine	Dumfrie's do.	Do.			198
Fancloagh, William	Devon Penn	Residence.			95
Findlater, A. J.	Wiltshire Estate	Do.	do.	do.	189
Fowle, William	Floyd's Lodge Plantation	Do.			18
Fennell, T.	Carlton do.	Do.			11
Graham, J.	Unity Hall Estate	Do.			149
Galloway, James	Moor Park Estate	Do.	do.	do.	185
Gordon, George	St. Andrew's Hill Plantation	Do.			31
Gordon, R. L.	Windsor Lodge Estate	Do.	do.	do.	339
Gray, Charles	Virgin Valley do.	Do.	do.	do.	168
Gray, John	Industry do.	Do.	do.		164
Grazell, W. R.	Friendship Plantation	Do.	do.		19
Hall, Thomas	William's Field Estate	Do.	do.		284
Hale, T. D.	Worcester and Kemphol do.	Do.	do.		277

SAINT JAMES, CONTINUED.

PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	BUILDINGS DESTROYED.			SLAVES.
Halt, T. K.	{ Kirkpatrick Hall Estate	Residence.	.	Negro Houses	163
	{ Stapleton Plantation	Do.	.	.	87
Heath, William	{ Friendship Estate.	.	.	Works.	36
	{ Spring Mount do.	Do.	.	do.	285
Hialop, L.	{ Edge Hill Plantation	Do.	.	.	2
Hilton	Comfort Hall do.	Do.	.	.	14
Hurlock, S.	Potosi Estate	Do.	.	do.	223
Horsefield, J.	Carpenter's Hall Plantation	Do.	.	.	5
Jackson, E. P.	Jericho do.	Do.	.	.	27
Jackson, James and Joseph	Brothers' Retreat do.	Do.	.	.	14
Jarrett, John	Amity Hall Estate	Do.	.	do.	100
Jarrett, Stephen	Gulleborough do.	.	.	.	184
James, James	Friendship Grove Plantation	Trash House	.	.	3
Kerr, William	Spring Garden Estate	Residence.	.	.	263
Kerr, Samuel	New Battle Plantation	Do.	.	do.	30
Litt, W.	Newman Hall Estate	Do.	.	.	145
Lowe, A. E.	Prospect Plantation	Do.	.	do.	24
Milne, R.	Chesterfield Penn.	Do.	.	.	61
M'Intosh, M.	May Hill Plantation	Do.	.	.	23
M'Intosh, John	{ Bellefont Estate	Do.	.	do.	65
	{ Camperdown Plantation	Do.	.	.	22
M'Kinlay, P.	Troy Field do.	Do.	.	.	60
M'Lennan, George	Spring Field Penn	Do.	.	.	38
Morris, John H.	Kensington do.	Do.	.	do.	51

SAINT JAMES, CONTINUED.

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PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	Residence	BUILDINGS DESTROYED.	SLAVES.
Sharpe, Charles	Thatchfield Estate	Do.	.	4
Sharpe, D. B.	Hamptden do.	Do.	.	25
Stirling A.	{ Content do.	Do.	Works	370
Stirling, W. & C.	{ Equity do.	Do.	do.	321
Thorpe, William	Windsor Castle do.	Do.	do.	74
Thorpe B. H.	Hampton do.	Do.	do.	114
Vaughan, S. (heirs of)	{ Flamstead do.	Do.	do.	129
	{ Vaughan's Feld do.	Do.	do.	407
Waite, R. B.	Blue Hole do.	Do.	do.	64
Williams, Martin	Seven Rivers do.	Do.	do.	254
Winn, J. L. (Heirs of)	Adelphi do.	Do.	do.	301
Wilson, George	Gibraltar Plantation	Do.	do.	249
		Do.	.	19

PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	SLAVES.	PROPRIETORS	PROPERTIES.	SLAVES.
Allen, R.	Tryall	325	Jackson, S.	Sod Hall	201
Boddington and Co.	{ Success	119	James, J. R.	Burnt Ground	187
Brown, W.	{ Orchard	208	Malcolm, N.	{ Alexandria	273
Bucknor, William	Cacoon	11	Miles, P. J.	{ Argyle	230
Campbell, A.	Friendship Grove	112	Morris, W. C.	{ Mochlva	313
Oates	{ Copse	394	Parrier J. W.	Prosper Penn	41
Morris, George	{ Beverly	146	Reid, Thomas	Rome	72
Spence, James	Warren		Seaford, Lord	{ Haddington	171
Campbell, A.	Knock Pleasant		Taylor, G. W.	{ Welcome	261
Campbell, W.	Castle Hyde		Walker, H. E.	Belvidere	271
Christie, John	New Milnes.	54	Walke, J. B.	Shettlewood	137
Clarke, S. H.	Greenwich	398	Walcott, H. C.	Haughton Grove	136
Cork, W.	Cacoon Castle	177	Ziaka, J. B.	Brae Penn	48
Gardner, Edward	Chester Castle	275	Burchell, Thomas	Ryan and Bamboo	331
Gilpin, M.	Flint River	200	Oates, C. H.	Content	312
Gray, S.	Cascade	135	Lissey	Shepherd's Hall	13
Heaves, W. H.	Friendship	289	Dr. Wisdross	Covenry	
Hibbert, R.	{ Golden Grove	200	Dr. Skirving	Brae	
	{ Silver Grove	20		Easingwood.	
	Great Valley	454		Woodlands.	

PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	SLAVES.	PROPRIETORS.	PROPERTIES.	SLAVES.
Mrs. Storer . . .	Haddo.		A. Herrier . . .		43
Dr. Spence . . .	Stracy.		H. Mcintosh . . .		66
W. H. Spence . . .	Woodstock . . .	35	P. Ferguson . . .		95
— Shilleto . . .	Mackfield . . .	18	J. Thorp . . .	Cliefden . . .	181
W. S. Gregnon . . .	Barneyside . . .	84	A. Mair . . .	Dean's Valley . . .	6
Angus, McCall . . .	Prospect . . .	41	H. Mair . . .	Nutshell . . .	16
	{ Lamb's River . . .	19	R. Mair . . .		7
	{ Mountain Spring . . .	36	S. Mair . . .		4
Mary Gray . . .	{ William's Field . . .	17	S. V. Parrier . . .		
J. Wittingham . . .	Cow Park . . .	83	R. Pennycook . . .	Flower Hill . . .	53
Do. . .	Kew Cottage . . .	71	Sammel, Spence . . .	Hopewell . . .	45
Charles Sharp . . .	Underwood . . .	17	William Williams . . .	Clantarf . . .	20
W. Horne . . .	Marchmont . . .	15	— Wedderburn . . .	Clifton . . .	18
Charles O'Connor . . .	Charlemount . . .	26	Dr. Gordon . . .	Darlston . . .	105
Rev. J. Reid . . .		89	Alfred Smith . . .	Bridgewater . . .	
Wedderburn . . .	Colville . . .		John Graham . . .	Gog Magog . . .	19
Bernard . . .	Hermitage . . .		Daniel Evans . . .	Weichpool . . .	39
A. Stephens . . .	Mountain . . .				
P. A. Scarlett . . .	Chilton . . .	65			
John Dobson . . .					

Besides many others more or less damaged.

The returns from Trelawny and St. Elizabeth's comprised but few properties *actually burnt down*, as the incendiaries were routed and scattered before they got far into either parish: the principal destruction, however, in the former parish, took place at York, Pantrepant, and Carrickfoyle Estates; and, in the latter, at Ipswich Estate, and Ginger Hill Plantation.

It will be remembered, that the burning of properties commenced in St. James's, and had been carried on to a fearful extent before any arrest could possibly be made to it by the military; also, that this beautiful parish abounds in sugar estates, on all of which there must be one, two, or more (according to its size) immense buildings, called trash-houses, which are supported by stone or brick pillars, and contain the dry stalk, &c. (denominated trash,) of the sugar cane, stored as fuel for the following year, after the juice has been expressed by the mill; the extensive roofs of which being composed of the broad-leaf cedar or bullet tree shingle become, from the heat of the sun, in a short space of time equally combustible with the dry trash they cover, consequently, the simple act of setting fire to them, could be as easily executed by a child as by an adult, and frequently performed by such juvenile miscreants, under the inspection of their elders. Thus, the disastrous effect of one spark was to deprive the owner of his fuel, at least for the next year's crop, and an expensive building. The proprietor's residence is, in most cases, principally composed of wood, as is almost invariably that of his overseer, and all the out-offices; and the negro, from his mode of life, is a great adept in the use of

fire. As soon as the extent of the loss and injury the rebellion could be ascertained, occasioned by the slaves wilfully setting fire to buildings, grass, and cane-fields; by robbery and plunder of every description; by damage done to the present and succeeding crops; by loss of the labour of slaves, those killed in suppressing insurrection, and such as were executed after trial; also incendiaries, rebels and murderers, returns were furnished to the House of Assembly, when the session was prolonged to this advanced period of the year, 1832, instead of ceasing at Christmas as usual, and it was found to amount to the following sums, viz.—

	Currency.	£	s.	d.
In the parish of St. James, the sum of		611,990	0	0
Hanover		395,291	15	0
Westmoreland		29,847	0	0
St. Elizabeth's		20,528	9	7
Trelawny		4,960	7	6
<hr/>				
Injury in the county of Cornwall		1,062,617	12	1
In the parish of Manchester, county of Middlesex		46,305	16	8
In the Parish of Portland	1475	0	0	
St. Thomas in the East	1230	0	0	
<hr/>				
Injury in the county of Surry		2705	0	0
<hr/>				
		£11,11,628	8	9

To which is to be added the sum of £165,000. currency, being the expence incurred in suppressing the rebellion during the period martial law was in force; and of another expence, amounting to about £7000. which had accrued since martial law ceased, being the pay of a portion of the maroons, as well as detachments of the island militia, employed

in the pursuit of such of the rebellious slaves as had not yet surrendered themselves, but remained out, and were sheltered amongst the most inaccessible forests and fastnesses in the interior districts of the island.

It will, doubtless, be concluded, that this enormous amount was to be raised by levying additional taxes on those who had been already sufferers to a dreadful extent. The house of assembly, however, almost to a man, proprietors themselves, knew the sum *must* be raised, and they did not hesitate heavily to augment the island taxes:—that rate per head, for instance, on slaves, which had heretofore annually been fixed at 5s. 10d. or 6s. 8d. at farthest, was now augmented to 8s. 4d. and that on stock to 2s. 1d., which generally had hitherto been 10d. per head. Thus was one lamentable calamity succeeded by another most grievous burthen, and to be borne by the ruined proprietors.

As the vile incendiaries received some severe checks before they penetrated far into the parish of St. Elizabeth's, the principal losses sustained in that parish, besides the properties named as burnt, were in negroes taken during the rebellion, who were tried and executed; but there is no doubt this fine parish would have suffered to a great extent, if the career of devastation had not been thus timely arrested, as it was well known that every property was to share the same fate.

In the parish of Manchester, some few properties were destroyed; but the damage here estimated was chiefly comprised in the loss of labour, occasioned by the general suspension of work, and the failure of crop, from its remaining uncut and ungathered,

till the canes were dried up by the sun, or trampled down by the now neglected stock, and the coffee-berries had dropped off the trees from over ripeness, and became an easy prey to innumerable hosts of rats which infest the plantations at that particular period of the year. Nothing could exceed the depreciation of property that ensued. Every article, though of course in no abundance, was a mere drug, from the circumstance that few had funds to purchase, by reason of the loss or scantiness of their own crops, and the heavy weight of taxes each individual was expected to meet; and such as could command a supply in England, were disinclined to trench thereon, lest, seeing that nothing in the island was now secure, they might require every farthing already out of danger for future maintenance. In such a state of things, many collected all they could, and repaired either to England or to America, intending to commence the world again with what little funds they then possessed, leaving their landed interests in the hands of such as, from being otherwise situated, felt either inclined to continue in the country, or were compelled to make a merit of necessity, by remaining to bear the brunt of whatever might be the result of the late disastrous proceedings. In its proper place will be found what were the subsequent movements of the British government.

The conduct of the various naval and military officers, and of those under their command, who had been dispatched by the Earl of Belmore to the different ports, in order to assist in quelling the insurrection, had given such great satisfaction to all those whom their services were intended to benefit,

that no instance occurred in which addresses were not presented previous to their departure, acknowledging the advantages derived from their presence and exertions, and expressive of the most grateful feelings. To these, answers were returned in terms the most handsome, evincing at once the light in which the hospitality (even in such unpropitious times) of the inhabitants was viewed by the brave defenders of their rights, and the alacrity with which they would again undertake the like duties, should, unfortunately, the state of the country render necessary another visit from them.

The remark has already been made, that the governor had convoked the House of Assembly, being anxious that all transactions occurring during his administration should be either finally closed, or placed in a fair train of settlement, previous to the arrival of his successor; an event that might now be looked for in the course of two or three months. Nothing could be more inconvenient to the members than an absence from their different parishes and usual employments at this particular crisis; for, as the house is generally composed of gentlemen possessing valuable properties in their own right, and holding extensive attorneyships (or agencies) for absentee proprietors, in various parts of the island, where their presence was now rendered, by the late occurrences, more than doubly needful, they were thus compelled to delegate their authority to others, while the more imperative duty of the legislature demanded their attendance at the seat of government.

The business of the session, however, proceeded with as much harmony, promptitude, and good-will,

as could have been expected from men already weighed down with a heavy load of misfortune, and still anticipating further encroachments on their rights and privileges, by that power, which should have shielded them from even the miseries they were then enduring. Under such circumstances, it was natural to conclude, that some differences of opinion would clog the wheel in its hitherto regular rotation; but, on the whole, matters were conducted in a manner that did great credit to the heads and hearts of those entrusted with the island interests. On its termination, addresses were presented to the governor, from the council and house of assembly, expressing, in the most flattering terms, their high sense of his promptitude and impartiality in his character of chancellor, his foresight, and excellent disposition of the troops as captain-general, which had so greatly tended to an early extinction of the late atrocious and unnatural rebellion; his mild yet salutary and efficient administration of the law, as governor of the island, and his condescending deportment towards all classes of society, which afforded to every individual an easy access to the fountain head in cases of need. The Earl of Belmore's reply was replete with that manly dignity of sentiment, and suavity of expression, for which his excellency was so peculiarly distinguished; and the members returned to their respective avocations, resolved, if possible, by additional assiduity, to make the most of whatever remained of the sadly reduced crop, for the benefit of their absent employers and themselves.

On the return of these gentlemen, they found that not only the strength of the different gangs had

been much reduced, but that, from the loss of the sugar-works, by incendiarism, and the destruction of the cane-fields, little produce could be prepared. However, their deputies, as well as all the individuals whose presence had not been required as members of the House of Assembly, had adopted every possible means in their power to forward the crops. In some cases, temporary sheds had been thrown over what remained of the delapidated mill, curing and boiling houses, so that such proportion of the canes as had escaped, in consequence of being in a green state, was manufactured and shipped.

The elasticity of temper, so proverbially the characteristic feature of the West Indian, was called to his aid, and buoyed him up against the late calamities, with a hope that the very worst had now occurred; and that the negro finding his desperate efforts ultimately foiled, would not speedily resort to the contemplation of measures unattainable. All was devastation; and it was lamentably shocking to witness the ruins of a once commodious mansion, now destitute of all that formerly delighted the hearts of its owners, or proved a hospitable resting place to the wearied or benighted traveller.

Thus terminated the most destructive, and certainly the *least excusable rebellion*, that has ever disgraced the annals of history; and it now only remains to record the measures subsequently adopted by the government, in order that the unbiassed reader may judge of the miserable situation into which so many of his fellow-subjects and countrymen, have unfortunately been thrown, without the

power of averting their wretched but unmerited fate, having, in fact, committed no crime, nor transgressed any existing law. Time alone can decide the ultimate effect; but, at present, the person of the resident West Indian is in constant jeopardy, his possessions scarcely of nominal value, and his prospects apparently for ever blasted.

As all the ministerial projects relative to an entire abolition of slavery had been working for many years towards a focus, it will not be surprising that so propitious a circumstance as the late rebellion should be seized with avidity for their furtherance and immediate accomplishment. The most favourable crisis of operation had now arrived.

A bill was brought into parliament, by their lately appointed colonial secretary, Mr. Stanley, by which it was enacted, that "*All slavery should cease throughout the British dominions on the first of August, 1834.*" That every slave should from that day become a free-man and apprenticed labourer, working only seven hours and a half per diem for his former master, and the rest of the day for himself, or for any individual who would pay him a certain fixed hire. The master, however, was to feed, clothe, lodge, and attend in sickness the negro as formerly, and the apprenticeship was to terminate at the expiration of four years to the house-servants, and six years to the field-labourers. All children, under the age of six years, were to be free at once; and all born subsequently to the passing of the act to be also free. Invalids, and those incapable of work, to be supported as usual by the master.

Naturally anticipating that disturbances would arise, in consequence of this sudden change in the state of affairs, salaried or stipendiary magistrates were sent out by government to the different islands; but in such small proportions, that even at the period of writing this account, it is generally acknowledged that the arduous duties allotted to them cannot possibly be performed to the extent required.

An island police has also been established; but the plan having been formed by persons totally ignorant of the country, it proves most defective.

Commissioners were appointed, whose duty it was to furnish government with schedules according to forms printed and carried out with them, to secure the equal distribution of twenty millions of money among the owners of slaves, after certain fixed rates, which had been voted by the British Parliament, as compensation to the proprietors for the property of which they were thus spoliated. In these calculations, however, no account was taken of the loss of labour to the planter, between seven hours and a half and the whole day, besides the deprivation of one whole day every fortnight. Nor was it contemplated, that, when robbed of so large a portion of the customary labour, the master's property could not be so well cultivated as formerly; and that if coercion was attempted to obtain the labour even in its now reduced and restricted scale, the thus favoured negro might, and could, avoid it altogether, by taking himself to the woods, where he could be maintained in ease and security, and from whence neither master, commissioner, nor salaried magistrate, could compel his return.

For an obscure and powerless individual like the writer of this small work to offer an opinion in opposition to the acts of a potent government, must be deemed presumption in the extreme; but a few concise remarks, (the result of twenty years' intimate connection with, and residence in, the island of Jamaica,) relative to what course might have been pursued towards the colonists, with a prospect of much more favourable results, may not be unseasonable; after which a transcript of the general rules, framed by the commissioners of compensation for the guidance of all parties concerned, will be given for the clear elucidation of the government plans.

A brief summary of the Slave Laws, passed during the session of 1826, in Jamaica, has already been given, by which the public may judge, whether amelioration in the condition of the slave had, or had not, taken place; and whether, or not, the malicious reports, so industriously and invidiously circulated on that subject were dictated and carried by justice or oppression; however, it is not possible for any unbiassed individual to peruse the facts relative to their termination, without having drawn a fair and decided conclusion as to the real origin of the unfortunate circumstances which have doomed so many of the negro race to a disgraceful and premature death, and so large a portion of the white population to poverty, misery, ruin, and despair.

From an accurate census, taken in the year 1830, of all slaves in the West India islands and dependencies, and a fair valuation made according to age, sex, capability, and qualifications, it was found that sixty-three millions would barely compensate the proprietors for that part of their property. When

the government resolved on the experiment of emancipation, with how much greater justice, and in how much more conciliatory a manner would have been accomplished, by dispatching commissioners of known character, conversant with the subject, to the different islands, with the avowed intention of taking the census, and making the valuation, under parliamentary instructions, as preliminary acts to the entire abolition of slavery, and compensation to the proprietors for that particular portion of their property. Under the principle, that "some evil must be endured, if productive of a great good," the owners thus candidly treated, would unanimously have gone hand-in-hand with the project; and, although the amount required might have somewhat exceeded the twenty millions granted, and considered by one and all as a paltry and inadequate compensation, yet, as every part of the plan would have been amicably carried through, and worked in unison, immense expence would have been saved to the mother country, in the payments of additional magistrates, and an increased military force, independent of the confusion and stagnation of business that arises from the existing compulsory and obnoxious measures.

Indeed, *the rebellion would have been prevented*, and all its sad incidents and consequences. Partial dissatisfaction might have evinced itself; but no bloodshed, no barbarous murders, violations, or arson, would have occurred; in short, there exists not a proprietor who has not looked forward to free labour with feelings of unfeigned delight, at whatever period, and by whatever means, it could be effected with perfect safety, nor one that does not in his heart utterly abhor the very idea of slavery.

That slavery is a curse, none will deny; nor would any mortal, possessing a spark of humanity, degrade himself by advocating the policy, propriety, or necessity of its continuance. The proprietors themselves, had they received open and honourable treatment, would have been among the first to break the rod and loose the chain; but they felt that, when so much had been done by their representatives in the house of assembly, to meet the wishes of the British government and the people of England, when concessions had been made far beyond what they deemed consistent with their personal safety, and which, indeed, even the colonial secretary was compelled to admit, "were valuable improvements," they had a right to expect, at least, a reasonable lapse of time, to prove the effects of what had already been done, before required to sanction more dangerous experiments.

The candid reader will admit, that it must have caused infinite pain to the proprietors, when they perceived the tranquillity, if not the actual existence of their ill-fated island, again put in jeopardy by the re-agitation of measures of such dangerous excitement; and the only satisfaction they could derive, was from the consciousness that, whatever might be the result, the responsibility was not theirs, but rested entirely on those who arrogated to themselves the power of dictating laws, and proposing improvements for a state of society they had never seen, and of which, their constant anomalies proved they were palpably ignorant.

They were also aware that the framers of these boasted ameliorations were acting entirely on theoretical grounds, not having the most distant knowledge

of the relationship existing in the island between the master and servant. It was, besides, very evident to the owners of slaves, from the intimate knowledge they themselves possessed of the natural propensities of the negro race, that should they consent to the adoption of the new enactments which were unceasingly sought to be forced upon them, they would be sanctioning acts totally subversive of the rights of property, and of that authority alike essential to the welfare of all classes of society.

It was impossible for them to view the conduct adopted towards the whole body of proprietors in any other light than that of a determined and rancorous persecution; because it was but justice to maintain, that if emancipation alone was the object required, as the nation at large had committed the wrong of establishing colonial slavery, so ought the nation at large to redeem that wrong, and not to throw the onus on the shoulders of individuals, who had merely acted as the tools by which the evil had been performed. Besides, it was manifestly unjust to fix the burthen upon those who happened at that particular period to be in possession of slave property, they having, either by inheritance, or purchase, obtained such property under the express sanction of the British law, which had neither been repealed, nor become obsolete; and the aggression was rendered still more aggravating, and less justifiable, by the indirect and covert means used to accomplish the object, which had the effect of gradually deteriorating the planter's property, and dragging it piecemeal from its lawful owner.

The fact, however, is, that unfortunately there existed a party who had nothing to lose, by whom

the government was goaded, and the West Indian proprietor villainously traduced and misrepresented. At the commencement, harsh measures were adopted which so severely stung the victim, that the pain could never be eradicated, but causing constant inflammation, at length settled itself into a deep and cancerous wound.

However, the die is cast, and the evil must now be remedied as appears most expedient. It is, nevertheless, greatly to be feared, that the precautions already provided for the prevention of future insubordination, will not prove sufficiently effective.

Besides, in addition to the inadequacy of the compensation for the property removed, destroyed, and rendered valueless, an enormous burthen is heaped upon the forlorn planter, for the maintenance of a force established to carry through a speculation, of which he gave no sanction, and to which he never consented; and the principal tie which formerly bound master and servant together being but partially snapped, the situation of each is rendered more precarious and less advantageous. To have effected the change, and accomplished the object in a manner worthy of the British nation, and in a way beneficial (at least not very injurious) to any party, the following plan might perhaps have been adopted with less expence and greater satisfaction.

A certain time should have been fixed for slavery to cease, allowing *two years* to elapse before such period arrived; but such slaves as should during that time commit acts of insubordination, to be transferred to a certain gang, applicable to government purposes, for a further period of probation, determinable according to their future conduct.

During the interval, a number of stations should have been completed on the summit of a long range of mountains, (so as to admit of telegraphs,) which divide the island, at equal distances as near as possible, with good roads from end to end. Other roads should diverge from the main one, to intermediate stations, a few miles along the coast, on each side. Fifty stations would have been sufficient for mountains and lowlands, and thirty men, including three non-commissioned officers at each; also one subaltern at each station.

Something of this kind has been done, still the new arrangement is not only incomplete, and the stations injudiciously selected, but it is much more expensive than the one now recommended would have proved. No necessity exists for inspectors at £1200. a year, or deputies at £500. The subalterns might be under the orders of the major-general of each district, who should make his periodical reports to the governor. It will be born in mind, that Jamaica alone is alluded to, as the same system might not, perhaps, apply to every other island and colony. The negroes should have been fairly valued, and the full value awarded to the owner, deeming it equitable, that what he has been hitherto deprived of, added to the existing depreciation of his possessions, and the loss he must for sometime (at all events) sustain from a deficiency of labourers to cultivate his lands, &c. would be a sufficient punishment for the heinous crime he has involuntarily committed in having inherited from his ancestors, or purchased from his neighbours, a description of property now deemed illegal.

It does not come within the province of this work to enter into an elaborate elucidation of the specific plans most advisable for the production of means wherewithal to satisfy the claimants. The amount already raised, would have gone far towards the liquidation of all demands, which, having been so readily assented to by the conservators of the public purse, it is not irreconcilable with probability to conclude, that a small addition, or even double the amount, would also have been as readily granted.

While these plans were proceeding in regular train, negro villages might have been founded, and other arrangements completed, enabling the negroes to feel and consider themselves *free and independent beings*, which they never can do under the present system, as they are bound to reside on the different properties as heretofore, and the owners compelled to feed, lodge, and clothe them.

Means could also have been adopted, during the interim, for inducing the slave population to become regular attendants on divine worship; and time would certainly have been allowed by the proprietors for religious instruction. Thus a *gradual* change would have taken place, and sufficiently progressive to permit the slave to glide into the free-man, without extraordinary or unnatural rapidity. By degrees, *his own home*, in the negro village, would become a preferable habitation to the *home in sufferance*, as the property to which he was soon no more to belong, excepting as a hired labourer.

The apprenticeship scheme, with all its (to them) apparent intricacies and disadvantages would be rendered unnecessary, and thus one great cause of dissatisfaction would be removed. They neither

can nor will understand it. The boon of freedom, so long sighed for, being obtained, all restless and jealous feelings would naturally subside, and be superseded by an ambition and anxiety to attain the same rank as that to which many discreet and persevering beings, of their own race and colour, have already, by good conduct and undeviating integrity, elevated themselves.

These few remarks are only thrown together as a general basis on which to build a sound superstructure, and will doubtless be considered by some readers, too trifling on a subject so important. But he who is in any degree conversant with the negro character, the climate, habits, &c. of Jamaica, will be able to judge fairly of these apparently commonplace suggestions, and from them will be able to draw judicious conclusions.

Pages have been written, and volumes may still be filled, without exhausting the subject; but it is not the intention of the writer to evince an argumentative or controversial disposition. The result of the present dangerous experiments, time alone can decide; but if means are not unceasingly adopted to enforce industry and obedience (as free-men) from the sable race, British subjects will lose their West Indian relatives, and the British king his West India possessions.

EXTRACTS,

WHICH SHEW THE ARRANGEMENTS MADE BY GOVERNMENT
FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWENTY MILLIONS VOTED
BY PARLIAMENT AS COMPENSATION TO THE PROPRIETORS
OF SLAVES.

Extract from the London Gazette, April 18, 1834.

At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, the 17th day of
April, 1834, by a Committee of the Lords of His
Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council.

WHEREAS the Commissioners appointed by his
Majesty under the authority of an Act passed in the third
and fourth year of his present Majesty's reign, intituled
“ An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the
“ British Colonies: for promoting the Industry of the
“ Manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons
“ hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves;” have
transmitted to the Lord President of the Council certain
general Rules framed by the said Commissioners under
the 47th and 55th Clauses of the said Act; and whereas
the said Rules have been laid by the Lord President
of the Council before his Majesty in Council, who has
been pleased to refer the same to this Committee. It is
therefore ordered by their Lordships, in pursuance of the
provisions of the said Act, that the said Rules, (which
are herewith annexed) be published three times in the
London Gazette; and their Lordships, are pleased to
order and declare, and it is hereby ordered and declared,
that all persons interested in or affected by such general
Rules, may within six months from this date appeal
against any such Rules to his Majesty in Council.

(Signed)

WM. L. BATHURST.

*Office of Commissioners of Compensation,
March 31, 1834.*

GENERAL RULES

Under 47th and 55th Clauses of Act 3 & 4 William IV.
c. 73.

WHEREAS, by an Act, 3 and 4 William IV. c. 73, intituled "An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves;" the Commissioners to be appointed thereby for apportioning and distributing the compensation provided by the said Act, are authorised and required by the 47th clause to institute certain inquiries for the purpose of regulating the apportionment within the several colonies of that part of the general compensation fund which shall be assigned to each of the said colonies; and the said Commissioners are especially directed to have regard to the relative value of predial slaves, and of unattached slaves, in every such colony, and to distinguish such slaves, whether predial or unattached, into distinct classes; and, with all practicable precision, to ascertain and fix the average value of a slave in each of the said classes: and whereas, we, the under-signed Commissioners appointed by his Majesty under the authority of the said Act for inquiring into and deciding upon the claims to compensation which may be preferred under the said Act, after making the inquiries thereby directed, have ordered a return of the number of slaves, and estimated value thereof, in each of the said colonies to be made according to the classes and in the form hereunto-annexed, marked (A): and whereas

the said Commissioners are further required by the said 47th clause, to draw up and frame all such general rules, regard being had to the laws and usages in force in each colony respectively, as to them may seem best adapted for securing the just and equitable distribution of the said funds amongst or for the benefit of the several persons entitled thereto, and for the protection of such funds, and for the appointment and indemnification of trustees; now, therefore, we, the under-signed commissioners, have, in obedience to such directions, drawn up and framed the following

RULES:

- 1.—That the party or parties who shall be in possession, as owner or owners of any slave or slaves, and shall appear as such by the latest returns made in the office of the Registrar of Slaves under the Registry Acts in the respective colonies, shall be deemed *prima facie* the rightful owner or owners thereof respectively, and *prima facie* entitled to the compensation monies to be awarded in respect thereof.
- 2.—That in respect to all persons who, as owners, or creditors, legatees, or annuitants, may have a joint or common interest in any slave or slaves, either in possession, remainder, reversion, or expectancy, the compensation monies to be awarded in respect of such slave or slaves, shall be deemed to be of the same nature, and impressed with the same character, for all purposes whatsoever, so far as the same can be so taken and applied, as the slave or slaves in respect of whom such monies shall be allotted, and shall be subject to the same rules of distribution, and to the same charges and liabilities, as the same slave or slaves respectively would have been subject to, according to the several estates and interests of the parties entitled

thereto, and agreeably to the laws and usages of the particular colony in which such slave or slaves may be registered or settled.

- 3.—That the compensation-monies to be awarded in respect of any slave or slaves, subject to any trusts or powers whatsoever, shall be subject to the same trusts or powers, in all respects, as the same slave or slaves were subject to.
- 4.—That, in cases in which any such compensation-monies, or any interest thereon, shall belong to or be vested in any married woman, infant, lunatic, or person of insane or unsound mind, or person beyond the seas, or labouring under any other legal or natural disability or incapacity, for the protection of whose rights and interests it may be necessary to make provision, and in all other cases in which it may appear to be necessary for protecting any estates or interests, and securing the due application of the compensation-monies to be awarded in respect thereof, the Commissioners shall direct the appointment of trustees, to be nominated in behalf of the parties interested, and to be approved of by the Commissioners; and shall cause the necessary deeds to be prepared for declaring the rights and interests of the parties, and the trusts and limitations in pursuance thereof, together with all necessary provisions for the indemnity of the trustees; and shall direct the compensation-monies to be invested in the public funds, in the names of such trustees, for the benefit of the parties entitled thereto, in pursuance of such trusts, and according to such respective rights and interests.
- 5.—That, in case of the death of any person entitled to such compensation-monies, who may die intestate before the award of such compensation,

the succession to such monies shall be the same as the succession to the slave or slaves in respect of whom the compensation shall be allotted, according to the law of the particular colony in which such slave or slaves were registered or settled.

6.—That the apportionment of the compensation-monies amongst the persons seized of, or entitled to, or having any mortgage, charge, incumbrance, judgment, or lien upon, or any claim to, or right or interest in any slave or slaves to be manumitted by the said act, at the time of such their manumission, shall be made according to the priority which such mortgage, charge, incumbrance, judgment or lien, claim, right, or interest, may respectively have in or upon such slave or slaves, according to the laws and usages in force in the particular colony in which such slave or slaves may be registered or settled.

7.—That, in all cases in which the slave or slaves, in respect of whom compensation is claimed, shall be the subject of any suit in any court of law or equity in the united kingdom, and to the Commissioners it shall seem meet, the compensation awarded to be paid in respect of such slave or slaves shall, under the direction of the said court, be paid into the said court, to be subject to the orders, directions, and decrees of the court in which such suit may be depending; and in cases in which such slave or slaves shall be the subject of any suit in any court of law or equity in the colony of Jamaica, and to the Commissioners it shall seem meet, the compensation in respect of such slave or slaves shall be paid, under the direction of the said court, to the receiver-general of the said island, to be subject to the decrees, orders, and directions of the said court in which

the suit may be depending; and in all cases in which such slave or slaves shall be the subject of any suit in any court of law or equity in any other colony than Jamaica, and to the said Commissioners it shall seem meet, the compensation-monies awarded in respect of such slave or slaves shall be paid into the Bank of England, in the name and with the privity of the accountant-general of the Court of Exchequer, to be placed to his account there, exparte the persons named in the award, and therein specified as the plaintiffs and defendants in the said suit, pursuant to the method prescribed by an act made in the first year of the reign of King George the Fourth, intituled "An Act for the better securing the monies and effects paid into the Court of Exchequer at Westminster on account of the suitors of the said court, and for other purposes," and the general orders of the said court, and without fee or reward; and the said monies, when so paid in, shall, by petition, in a summary way, be invested by the said accountant-general in his name, exparte the said account, in the purchase of £3 per centum Consolidated Bank Annuities, and the dividends thereon, and also the dividends in all future investments, as they arise and become due, shall be invested by the said accountant-general in his name, in like manner, so that the same may accumulate for the benefit of the parties entitled thereto, and the said compensation-monies, so invested as aforesaid, and the said accumulations, shall be paid and transferred under the direction of the said Court of Exchequer, to be signified by an order made upon a petition, to be preferred in a summary way to the person or persons to whom the same shall be directed to be paid or

transferred by the decree, order, or judgment of the court of the colony, made in the said suit there depending, or any court of appeal; and a copy of such decree, order, or judgment of the court in the colony, or court of appeal, signed by the proper officer of such court, shall be sufficient evidence of such decree, order, or judgment to the said Court of Exchequer: And, whereas, by the 55th clause of the said Act, the said Commissioners are required to frame and publish general rules, to be confirmed, allowed, and enrolled, as thereby directed, prescribing the form and manner of proceeding to be observed by any claimant or claimants preferring their claims under the said Act, upon the prosecution of such claims, and in making any opposition to the same, and for the conduct of the proceedings under the said commission, We, therefore, the under-signed Commissioners, in obedience to the directions of the said 55th clause, have drawn up and framed, in so far as relates to all the colonies or possessions mentioned or enumerated in the said Act, except the Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius, the following

RULES:

—That all persons in possession of and claiming compensation for any slave or slaves to be manumitted under the said Act, shall prefer their claims before the assistant-commissioners in the respective colonies in which the said slave or slaves may be registered or settled, within three months after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, in the form hereunto annexed, marked, (B.)

- 14.—That the commissioners shall, upon such proceedings and reports being received from the assistant-commissioners, proceed to the adjudication and award of the compensation which shall appear to be due according to such lists, reports, and proceedings.
- 15.—That all persons claiming to act on behalf of any party interested in the said compensation - monies, shall lodge with the commissioners, or assistant-commissioners, as the case may be, a power of attorney, or other authority, under the hand of the party or parties so interested, to be registered in the proceedings of the said commissioners, or assistant-commissioners, and no other than the person or persons so named in such power of attorney or authority, shall be entitled to act in this behalf so long as such power shall continue in force.

slaves included in such claims, or any right, title, or interest thereto, under or by virtue of any deed, will, testamentary instrument, or conveyance whatsoever, or in any other manner whatsoever, and claiming to receive the compensation for such slave or slaves, or any of them, in opposition to the original claimant, shall prefer a counter-claim before the assistant-commissioners in the respective colonies, on or before the first day of February, 1835; or in London, on or before the first of April, 1835, provided always, that in case no original claim shall have been filed within the time limited by the first rule for that purpose, any person claiming a right to receive the compensation as above-mentioned, or any part thereof, may prefer his claim thereto instead of a counter-claim, and such claim shall be deemed and taken, and be made in the same form, and subject to the same rules of proceeding, in all respects, as a counter-claim, and with the same liberty of replying thereto, as herein after directed, as if an original claim had been preferred.

6.—That in cases in which no counter-claim shall have been preferred in the colonies on or before the first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, the assistant-commissioners, within their respective colonies, shall report the amount of compensation which may appear to them to be due upon each of the several claims, on application of the parties, or their agents, and transmit forthwith copies or lists of such several reports to the Commissioners in London; and in cases in which no counter-claim shall have been preferred before the Commissioners in London, on or before the first day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five, the Commissioners may proceed to award the compensation, according to the several claims, upon the application of the parties or their agents.

- 7.—That in all cases in which a counter-claim for the whole or any part of the compensation shall be preferred, such counter-claim shall set forth the estate or interest, right or title, intended to be insisted on, and the dates, parties, and legal effect of the deeds or other instruments under which the counter-claim is made, with the date of registration in the proper office in the colony; and in all cases of mortgage, judgment, charge, incumbrance, or lien, such counter-claim shall also set forth for what sum the same was granted or recovered, what payments (if any) have been made thereon, and the dates of such payments, and what remains due thereon, whether the same is the prior lien or otherwise, or the property included therein; and also the legal effect of such securities upon slaves, according to the law and usage of the particular colony in which such slaves have been registered or settled; and, in addition thereto, the substance of such counter-claim be embodied and arranged in the tabular form hereunto annexed, marked (C).
- 8.—That upon such counter-claim being filed within the limited periods aforesaid, notice thereof be forthwith given by the party making the same to the party against whom it is made, or his agent, and a copy thereof be furnished to such party, or his agent, on application at the office of the commissioners, or of the assistant-commissioners, in the colony.
- 9.—That within three months after such counter-claim has been filed, and such notice given, the original claimant may file a replication to the said counter-claim before the assistant-commissioners, or the Commissioners in London, and give notice forthwith of such replication to the counter-claimant, or his agent, and a copy thereof be furnished to such counter-claimant, or his agent, on application at the office of the commissioners in London, or of the assistant-commissioners in the colony.

- 10.—That in case no replication be filed within the time aforesaid, the commissioners may, on proof of notice of the counter-claim having been served on the original claimant, or his agent, proceed to consider the claim and counter-claim, and give such further directions, and make such award, as to them shall seem fit in respect to the compensation to be paid thereon.
- 11.—That in case a replication shall be filed within the time aforesaid, the commissioners may, either upon application of the parties interested, or their agent for such purpose, or if to the commissioners it shall seem fit, direct proof to be adduced in support of such claim, counter-claim, or replication, by the production of deeds or other documents, or by interrogatories on oath or affirmation, to be drawn and exhibited to the parties or witnesses, or by affidavits, or by *viva voce* examination of witnesses, as the case may require.
- 12.—That on such proof as aforesaid being made, the commissioners shall, on the application of any of the parties interested, or their agents, cause a notice to issue to all the claimants and counter-claimants in such proceedings named, that the said commissioners will on a day in such notice to be named, proceed to make their abjudication and award; copies of such notice to be served by the party applying for the same on all such claimants and counter-claimants, or their agents.
- 13.—That with the consent of the several parties, the assistant-commissioners in their respective colonies, be authorised to consider and proceed according to the several rules herein-before stated, to ascertain and report the amount of compensation appearing to be due to any of the litigant parties, in cases of contested claims, and transmit forthwith lists or copies of their proceedings and reports to the commissioners.

Name & Address of party preferring Counter Claim.	Description of Estate, Right, Title, or Interest of Counter Claimant, with reference to Docu- ments in support thereof	Amount due on Mortgage, Judgment, or other Lien or Incumbrance, in Sterling Money.	Description of Slaves, being the object of Counter Claim.	Number of Slaves.	Estimated Value of Slaves, in Sterling, comprised in Counter Claim.
			<p>NON FREDIAL.</p> <p>1.—Head Tradesmen . . . 2.—Inferior Tradesmen . . . 3.—Head People employed on Wharfs, Shipping, or other Avocations } 4.—Inferior People of the same description . . . } 5.—Head Domestic Servants 6.—Inferior Domestics . .</p> <p>— 0 —</p> <p>FREDIAL ATTACHED.</p> <p>1.—Head People . . . 2.—Tradesmen . . . 3.—Inferior Tradesmen . . . 4.—Field Labourers . . . 5.—Inferior Field Labourers</p>		

